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Drugs in
the
Newsroom
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JOURNALISM REVIEW

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Is Network
News
Obsolete?
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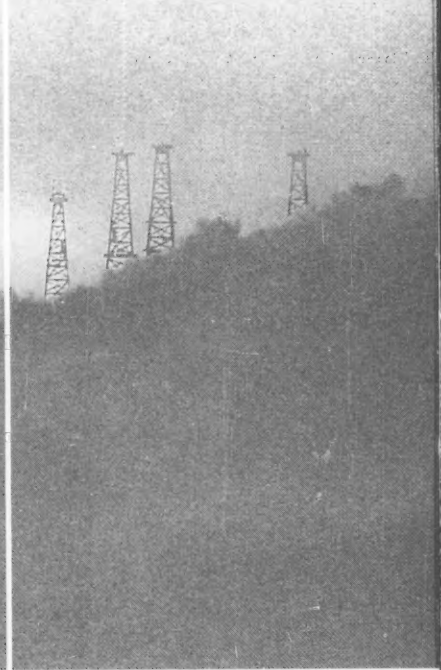


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The week Newsweek went fishing for a business story and hooked into some Bass.

Newsweek's reporters went on a fishing expedition to Texas.

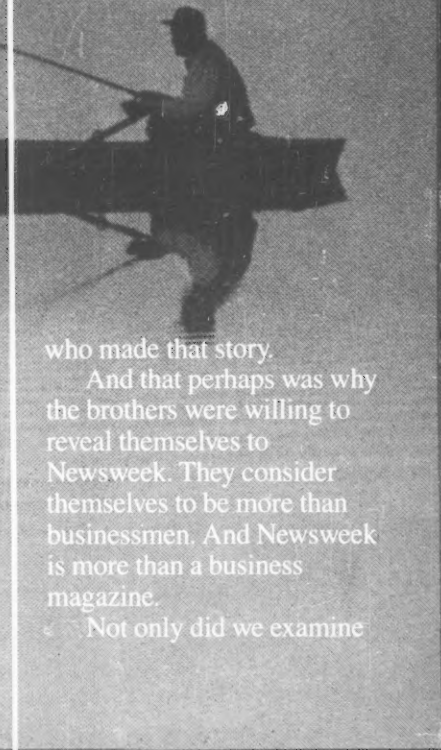
The result was a story that every major news organization in the country had tried to land—but couldn't.

It was our exclusive report on the obsessively reclusive Bass brothers: the four young billionaire brothers from Fort

Worth who collectively control the fastest-growing family fortune in America.

It was an issue that demonstrated Newsweek's ability to dig beneath a business story and get to the passions, the ambitions, the financial wheelings and dealings, the real values of the people

Fri.



who made that story.

And that perhaps was why the brothers were willing to reveal themselves to Newsweek. They consider themselves to be more than businessmen. And Newsweek is more than a business magazine.

Not only did we examine

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the business of their business, but we dug deeply into the Bass family's social conscience, its commitment to Fort Worth and its almost "Rockefeller" attitude to the arts.

We spent five weeks poring over their records at the SEC in Washington, examining their Disney holdings in California

and digging in their Fort Worth backyard.

It's this kind of commitment that's resulted in our winning over 600 awards for excellence.

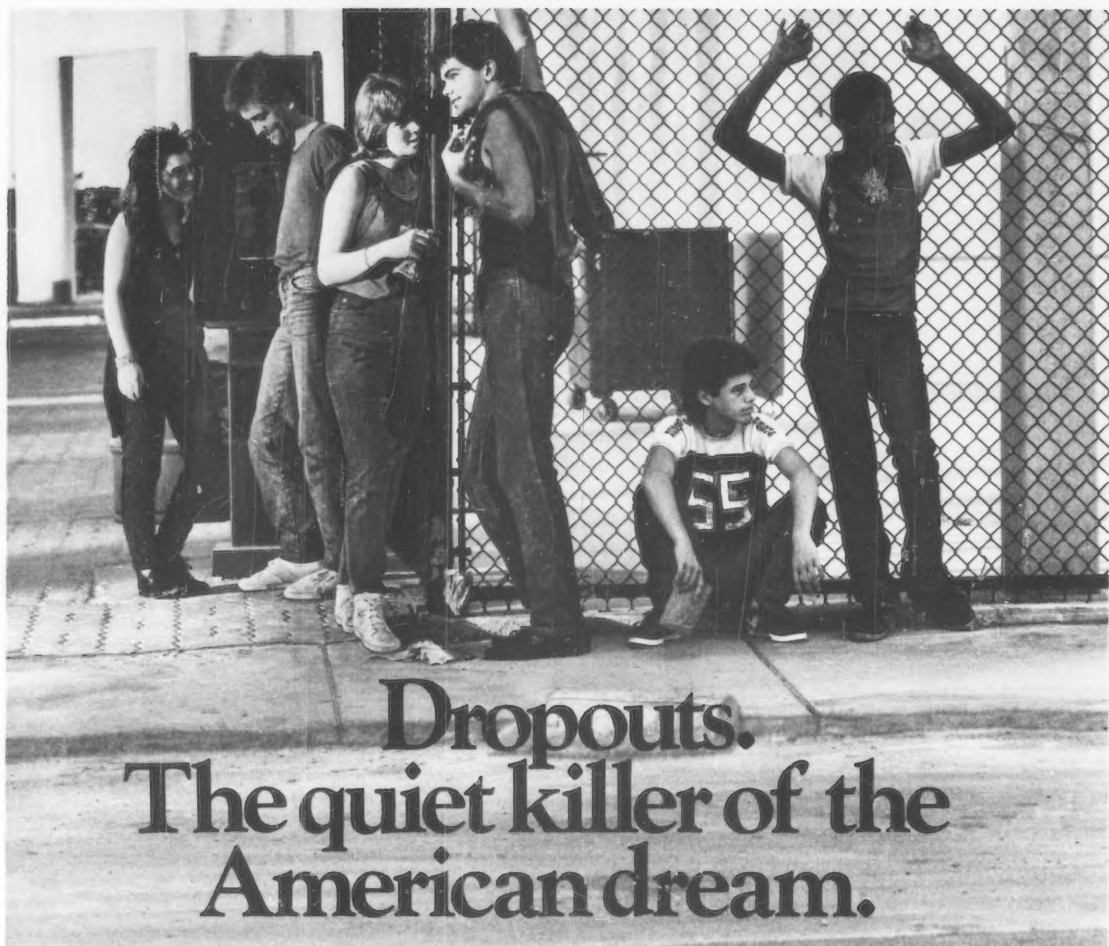
More than any other news-weekly.

Our point: when your aim is to land a few Bass, make sure that you know the waters.

Newsweek
Why it happened. What it means.



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Dropouts. The quiet killer of the American dream.

Once a dilemma. Now a crisis.

Thirty percent of America's teenagers aren't graduating from high school. That's three quarters of a million dropouts each year.

In our large cities — Boston, New York, Detroit, Chicago, Washington and Philadelphia — the dropout rate is 35-50%.

The cost to society of the dropout crisis is staggering. More than half of the nation's prison inmates are dropouts — and it costs taxpayers up to \$25,000 a year to house a prisoner in a correctional institution. That total is higher than the cost of a year of education at either Harvard or Yale.

The Business Advisory Commission of the Education Commission of the States recently called on all of society — business, schools, civic organizations, labor and professional groups — to address the dropout problem. We as a nation cannot let one quarter of America's youth continue to drift toward hopelessness.

That's why the National Education Association has initiated a major new effort to rescue young people from academic failure. NEA has committed \$1.7 million to this effort — one dollar for every NEA member. We will devote \$700,000 to this war-chest against scholastic failure to Operation Rescue, our new program to combat the dropout and illiteracy syndrome.

The remaining \$1 million will establish an endowment to make educational excellence grants available to teachers for years to come. And we're asking other concerned groups — both inside and outside education — to join teachers in building this fund. Our aim is to begin funding local dropout prevention programs by the fall of 1986.

Our goal with Operation Rescue? We want to help cut the dropout rate in half by 1990.

Our goal as an association? In over 128 years, that's never wavered. We stand for excellence in every classroom, for every child.

nea

National Education Association

THE SUBJECT IS EXCELLENCE

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● To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent ●

Excerpt from the *Review's* founding editorial, Autumn 1961

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THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

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"We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Benjamin Franklin, July 4, 1776

America's railroads and farmers always have had a special relationship, sometimes stormy, always interdependent. Railroads helped make the establishment of agricultural communities in the western states possible, but farmers came to fear the economic power of the railroads and became the driving force behind initial government rail regulation.

That early regulation was intended only as a means of curbing rate abuses. Over time, it became a controlling web that grew more and more pervasive, intruding in virtually every facet of railroad operation and, ultimately, restricting the railroads' ability to provide the services upon which farmers and other shippers depended.

Unable to adjust rates rapidly to meet changing business or competitive conditions and hampered even in decisions as to the use of equipment, rail service deteriorated and farmers suffered. Grain shipments rotted on the ground as rail car shortages became an annual occurrence.

By 1980, it was apparent that something had to be done. Congress recog-

nized the need and passed the Staggers Rail Act, partially deregulating the rail system. This legislation allowed railroads to conduct business in an orderly, logical manner and to negotiate contracts with farmers and other shippers.

Now, after five years of partial deregulation, it's obvious that Staggers has provided real benefits both for railroads and farmers. During this five-year period, nationwide grain shipping rates declined by 26 percent. A study conducted jointly by the Department of Agriculture and Kansas State University found "...a significant decrease in rail rates in Kansas..." and called deregulation "...an important contributing factor in a market which made these decreases possible."

Deregulation is working for farmers as well as railroads and the timing couldn't be better because farmers currently need all the help they can get. Yet a few special interest shippers operating under the misnomer, Consumers United for Rail Equity (C.U.R.E.), have asked Congress to modify the Staggers Act: in effect, legislating a subsidy for their own industries to the disadvantage

of farmers and other satisfied shippers.

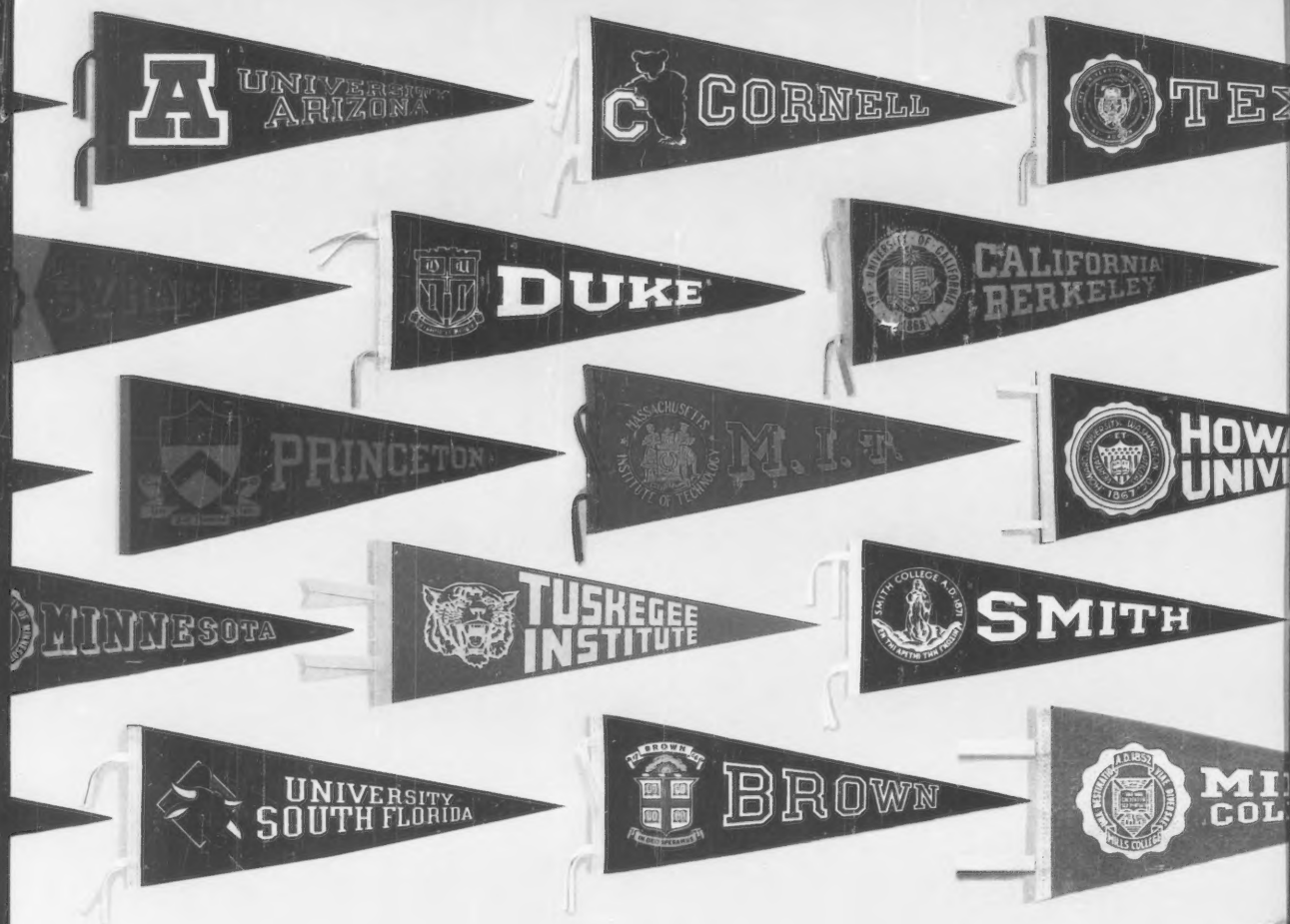
The Association of American Railroads is prepared to provide journalists with more information on this subject, including rebuttals of the charges C.U.R.E. has made. These include charges that rail-dependent shippers are subsidizing those less dependent (the reverse is more accurate); that deregulation has allowed coal rates to rise too fast (they have risen much less since Staggers than before); and that the Interstate Commerce Commission is unwilling to protect "captive" shippers from unreasonably high rates (actually, the Commission just has adopted new rate guidelines that have been overwhelmingly endorsed by the nation's leading economists).

There's a story here, but you need facts, not assertions, to tell it properly. To get them, write: Media Information, Dept. 606, Association of American Railroads,



50 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. Or, if you're on a deadline, call us at (202) 639-2550.

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS

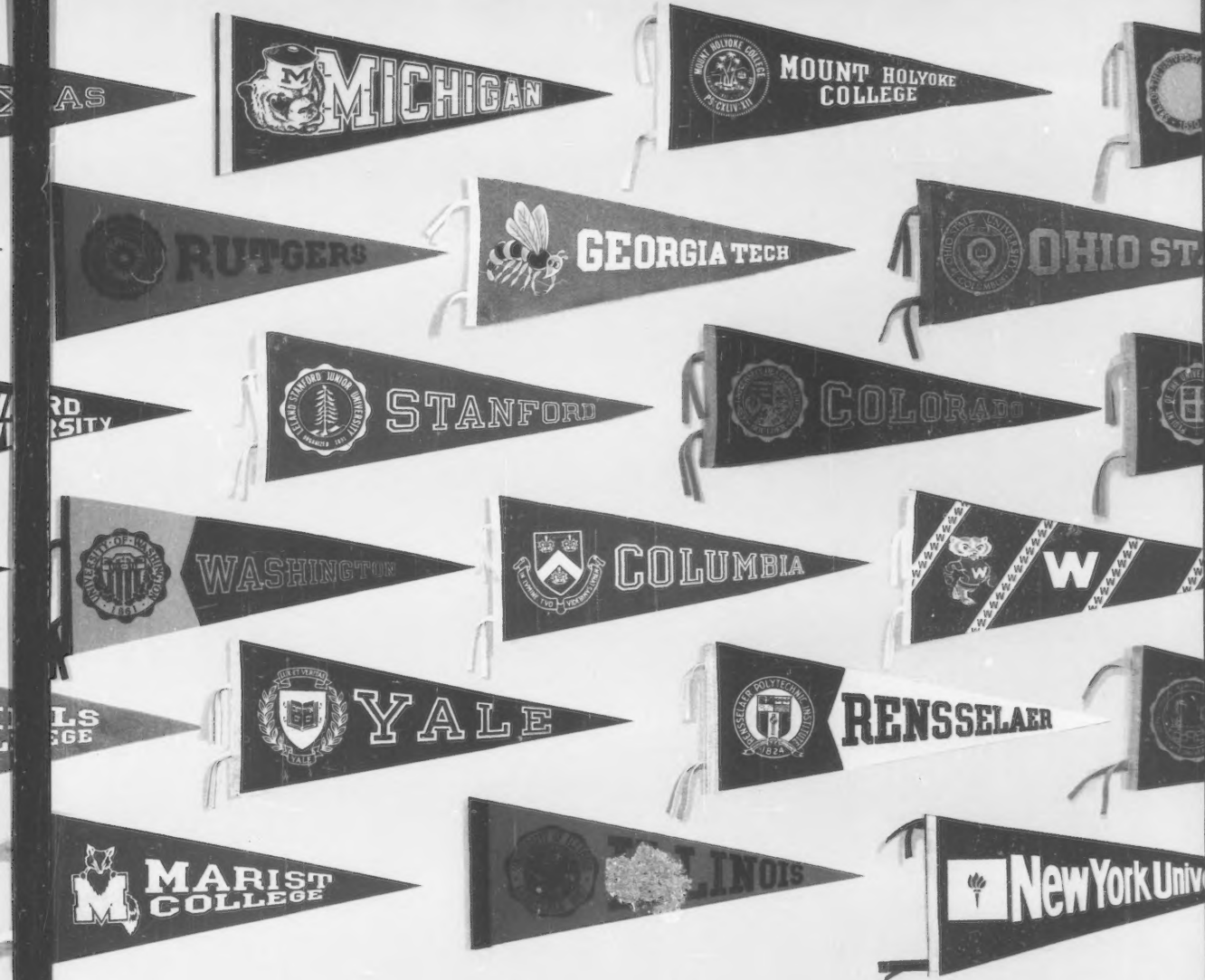


You'll forgive us a little flag waving.

Supporting higher education isn't a new idea.
Millions of people make contributions; so do hundreds of companies.

But in today's tough economic climate colleges need more support than ever. Funds for bricks and mortar aren't enough. Colleges need help in preparing students to succeed in this technological age — both on campus and in the work force.

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and science. This kind of support enriches the curriculum for all students, including those in liberal arts.

IBM contributed more than \$82 million to hundreds of schools last year, some of them represented here. Our "2 to 1" Matching Grant Program generated another \$12 million: \$4 million from our employees was matched by \$8 million from IBM.

Education is important to all of us. We all depend on the students, and the ideas, coming out of America's colleges and universities. It's only fair that they can depend on us.

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CHRONICLE

The ABC's of sexism

About two years ago, a handful of women correspondents from ABC News's Washington bureau began to meet regularly over dinner. Comparing notes, they grew to believe that women had hit a roadblock at the network. No woman headed a major beat in Washington. There were few women producers. Only a few women served as bureau chiefs. And, it seemed, women appeared on the air far less frequently than men.

The group decided to make a study and it has since unearthed statistics that are making news executives at ABC — and at the other networks as well — a little edgy. The group's findings that ABC news programs are dominated by men came as no surprise. What startled the women — and inspired them to act — was the extent of that domination.

According to the group's calculations, only eighteen of the ninety-seven correspondents who regularly appear on *World News Tonight* (19 percent) are women. From May to December of last year, these women filed 157 of the 1,317 stories broadcast on *World News Tonight* (about 12 percent). In the same period, only twelve of the 162 reports aired on *Nightline* were filed by women. And of the thirty-four reports on *This Week With David Brinkley*, not one was filed by a woman. Female faces showed up more frequently on *Good Morning America*.

Nevertheless, four out of five stories aired on the program were reported by men. In addition, the women say there are substantial differences — as much as 30 percent — in the salaries paid to men and women holding the same jobs.

Fifteen years ago, the data gathered by the ABC newswomen would have been the backbone of a major lawsuit — the sort of lawsuit that first opened the network newsrooms to women. But this is the 1980s and the ABC women are moving cautiously, trying to reform the networks from within. They have organized a caucus and have met with ABC News president Rooney Arledge twice. Their tone is far from confrontational (they refer to "challenges" rather than "problems") and even though they have consulted an attorney, they downplay the prospects of a lawsuit. "I can't talk about possible legal action," says Sheila Kast, Washington correspondent and spokeswoman for the caucus. "There is certainly none planned right now, but it is always a thought in people's minds in this situation."

Whatever the ABC women decide to do next, their efforts to date — the first sign of serious activism among women at the networks in over a decade — have received much attention in the trade press and have inspired the National Organization for

Women to join the fight. This spring, the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund announced that it would issue monthly reports documenting the fact that women remain little more than "window dressing" on the nightly news. "We think of it like the monthly unemployment figures," says Kathy Bonk, director of the Women's Media Project for the NOW fund. "We want to hit the networks up month after month . . . until they decide to do something about it."

The NOW fund's initial surveys show a striking lack of progress for women over the last decade. In 1977, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported that men filed about 90 percent of the on-air spots on the evening news programs of all three networks — virtually the same figure NOW reports nearly ten years later.

Women have, of course, made progress at the networks since the first big wave hit the newsrooms in the early 1970s. Before then, there had been virtually no women with plum assignments or in decision-making positions. Now we see the likes of Lesley Stahl and Andrea Mitchell covering the White House for CBS and NBC, and Lynn Sherr covering national affairs for ABC. And some women have advanced to key positions behind the camera. The senior producer of *NBC Nightly News*, for example, occupying the number two slot on that show, is a woman.

But for most women, progress has been slow and frustrating. "There is a feeling of concern growing among young women here," says a network newswoman who asked that she not be named. "They didn't have such a hard time coming up in local broadcasting, but once they get to the network they find it hard to get on the air." She and several of her colleagues are watching the ABC women with interest, she says.

Although getting more women on the air is a priority of the ABC caucus, spokeswoman Kast says that the group would also like to see more women in executive positions. "We [don't] see women on track to become managers, which might change things in the future," she says.

ABC management is tight-lipped about the caucus. "We consider this to be basically an internal matter, and we hoped they would too," says spokeswoman Carol Olwert.

Inside job: upset about their position at ABC News, women organized to lobby management. At a meeting of the interim women's advisory board were (from left) radio news editor Elyse Weiner, producer Robin Wiener, secretary Pamela Cohen, Washington correspondents Carole Simpson and Bettina Gregory, and reporter Beverley Lumpkin.



CJR Olita Day

HOW TO AVOID THE DANGERS OF COUNTERFEIT AUTO PARTS

INFERIOR PARTS COULD THREATEN YOUR SAFETY

Today, a counterfeiter no longer has to print phony twenty-dollar bills. Selling imitation automotive replacement parts—packaged to resemble products from legitimate manufacturers—is big business.

For people who buy and use counterfeit auto parts, though, the consequences can be costly. For example, body panels may require expensive labor to bring their finish quality up to the rest of the car. Bogus oil filters have failed after 200 miles, causing unprotected engines to seize up, requiring their complete replacement.

Inferior transmission fluid has solidified at 0° Fahrenheit, ruining transmissions. And counterfeit antifreeze has eaten right through aluminum parts.

The failure can be safety-related. A fatal 1985 bus accident in Britain was attributed to the installation of counterfeit brake parts. Ill-fitting counterfeit gas caps can fall off, increasing the risk of a fire in a roll-over accident.

Here's how to make sure you receive parts that are made to work best in your GM car. Your most reliable source is your GM dealer. He can supply any part for your GM car or truck. Buying popular brand parts from reputable stores or garages is another way to improve your chances of getting the right part. But wherever you buy, be suspicious of discounts that seem too good to be true.

Some tip-offs that a part might be counterfeit:

Flimsy packaging.

Lack of name-brand identification such as AC-Delco.

"Look-alike" graphics or a change in the spelling of a recognized trade name. In this way counterfeiters can avoid prosecution under the 1984 Trademark Counterfeiting Law. So examine the package carefully.

If a replacement part doesn't fit easily, you should probably return it. A reputable distributor will almost certainly give you a refund or credit.

General Motors is taking strong measures in the U.S. and overseas to put a stop to parts counterfeiting. GM is trying to stop the problem at its source. So far we've

helped U.S. marshals confiscate parts in raids on 29 counterfeiting operations. Another eight operations have been uncovered and prosecuted in foreign countries.

GM is also developing a hologram identification device, much like those becoming popular on credit cards, to improve security in our parts distribution.

After all, General Motors has a tremendous investment in GM parts that work together to give our customers safe, reliable cars and trucks. We want our customers to be confident they can maintain their GM vehicles at the same level of high quality we build them.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.



Chevrolet • Pontiac
Oldsmobile • Buick
Cadillac • GMC Truck

"We're trying to stay out of a public war on these matters. All I can say is our working relationship with them is good, it's a positive one."

Off the record, some of the women disagree. They claim that women who speak out risk jeopardizing their chances for advancement. Rita Flynn, a former ABC News correspondent, believes her career suffered because she helped to organize the caucus. "Everyone knew that many of the meetings were held at my house," says Flynn, "and it got very uncomfortable for me." Flynn left the network last fall and now reports from Washington, D.C., for KRON-TV in San Francisco and three other television stations

owned by Chronicle Broadcasting.

Nevertheless, the ABC caucus members are optimistic. Since their first meeting with Roone Arledge, the network has appointed a full-time recruiter to seek out new talent, has begun listing job openings in regularly distributed in-house memorandums, and is working with the caucus to establish a women's advisory board, which, the women hope, will act as an ombudsman. "There does seem to be some progress," says Kast, "and, of course, we hope there will be a lot more."

Betty Holcomb

Betty Holcomb is a free-lance writer who lives in New York.

Running commentator

The intense candidate stared into the camera. "I want very much to do the things that I've been talking about for the past eight years. And to do them, I want Alan Cranston's job." A paid political announcement?

"I want to talk more about all this . . . at greater length," the candidate continued, "and I'll do that on the six o'clock *Eyewitness News* tonight. I hope that you can watch; if you can, please do." A guest appearance on *Live at Five*?

No, this was Los Angeles's KABC-TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn devoting a portion of one of his two nightly broadcasts last January to an impromptu announcement of his candidacy for the Republican senatorial nomination in California. Later that evening, Herschensohn's regular three-minute spot was expanded to five minutes as he and anchor Jerry Dunphy discussed the high cost

of campaigning and Herschensohn's twelve planned fund-raising events. The candidate boasted that his campaign director, Angela Bay Buchanan Jackson — the sister of White House aide Patrick Buchanan — had served as United States treasurer and in both Reagan/Bush campaigns. At the end, Dunphy wished his colleague the best of luck and bade him farewell.

Herschensohn's swan song culminated months of controversy as a citizen group, local broadcasters, and his Republican rivals criticized him for using his access to the state's largest television market to advance his candidacy.

A hard-line conservative who served as a loyal assistant to President Nixon throughout the Watergate years, Herschensohn had been an unofficial candidate for months. At the state Republican convention last September, Herschensohn, who has billed himself as a candidate who does not shy away from the serious issues, enlisted former Miss America and KABC colleague Tawny Schneider to help entice delegates to his receptions. "First Family member" Michael Reagan and North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, who also used his position as a television commentator to launch his political career (see "Jesse Helms, Journalist," *CJR*, July/August 1985), were quick to endorse him.

By November, Herschensohn had dispatched 50,000 fund-raising appeals, culling names from, among other sources, the 10,000 fan letters he had saved since his first appearance on KABC in 1978. The same month, a statewide poll ranked him second out of twelve contenders. San Francisco pollster Mervin Field credited Herschensohn's impressive showing to "the visibility he gets as a television personality."

Alarmed by Herschensohn's "unofficial" campaign, Walter Zelman, executive director of California Common Cause, appealed to the Federal Communications Commission and KABC management. "The considerable exposure he receives by virtue of his unique position gives him an extraordinary advantage over his likely opponents," Zelman wrote to KABC. "For all practical purposes we believe Mr. Herschensohn is now a candidate and ought to be treated as such."

KABC wasn't moved. The station never responded to Zelman, and in November a station spokesman said that management doubted that Herschensohn would run and saw no conflict until he was a legally declared candidate.

Herschensohn's status as an unofficial candidate also prevented the FCC from taking action. Under the equal-time rule, KABC could not be forced to provide air time to Herschensohn's rivals until the commentator became a "qualified candidate for the ballot." In California, that does not occur until the secretary of state officially designates the primary candidates in March of an election year.

As Herschensohn stepped up his campaign last fall, pressure for his resignation began to build. State Senator Ed Davis, one of Herschensohn's rivals for the Republican nomination, privately encouraged reporters to cover the controversy. "I'd fire him," declared KNBC managing editor Peter Noyes. "It was the most disgusting thing I've seen in my thirty years of television news," he added in an interview after Herschensohn's final KABC appearance. "If any of my employees had attempted such a thing, I would have terminated them immediately."

"Every candidate has a set of advantages and disadvantages," Herschensohn says in his defense. "You win some, you lose some." Maintaining that KABC never paid him to be objective, he claims that his long record of commentaries — before he resigned, he was broadcasting a total of forty-five minutes a week on radio and TV — offers California voters an unprecedented record of where he stands on the issues. Now battling in a crowded field without the benefit of regular television exposure, Herschensohn faces a tough primary contest. "It would be terribly unfair for everyone in the media who was thinking about running for office to have to be unemployed immediately," he said last fall. "It's enough of a handicap to be unemployed if you do decide to run."

Linda Breakstone

Linda Breakstone is the politics writer for the Los Angeles Herald Examiner.





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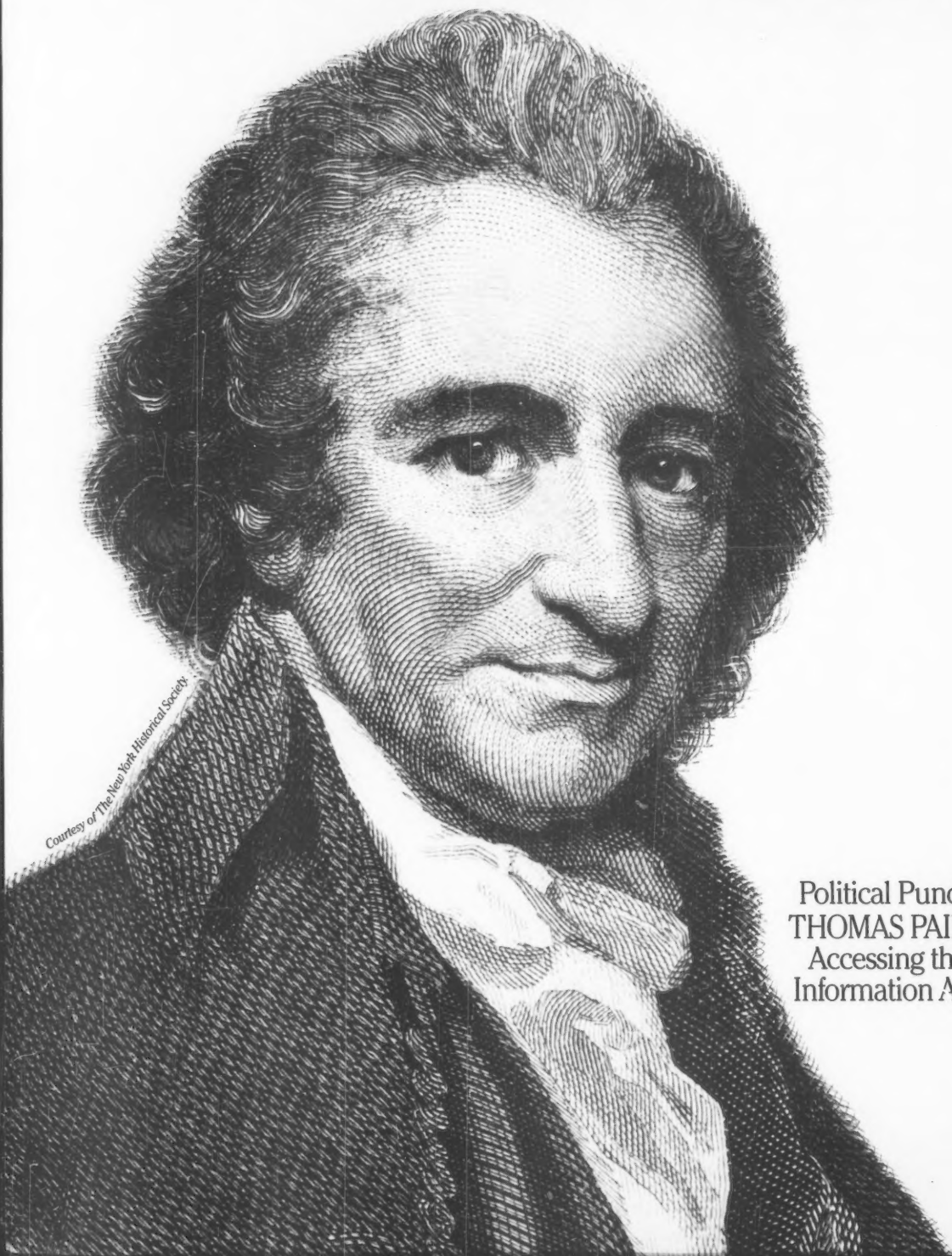
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A STORY OF TELESIS.



Political Pundit
THOMAS PAINE
Accessing the
Information Age

Courtesy of The New York Historical Society

Progress, intelligently planned. That's how the dictionary defines telesis. A fundamental part of telesis is the free exchange of ideas and information—something Thomas Paine proved more than 200 years ago.

Corset-maker, exciseman, tobaccoist, penniless immigrant—an unlikely *curriculum vitae* for the man who would help shape the principles and philosophy of a great revolution. But in the American colonies, a man could rise as high as his ambition and energy drove him. And Thomas Paine had plenty of both.

"My motive and object," he said, "(is) to rescue man from tyranny and false systems and false principles of government, and enable him to be free." From these lofty ideals came a humble piece of journalism called, simply, *Common Sense*, which burst from the press on January 9, 1776, swiftly changing the idea of American independence from the brainstorm of a handful of radicals to the crusade of a new nation.

Common Sense, together with Paine's later essays—*The Rights of Man*, *The Age of Reason* and others, today stand as a testimony not only to the power of the ideas they contain, but also to the power of the printed word itself.

"Without the pen of Paine," John Adams said, "the sword of Washington would have been wielded in vain."

Today, in this age of information, a free press has a greater ability than ever to educate, to inspire and to be the voice of common sense. But keep-

ing up with a vast and rapidly changing store of information also presents today's journalists with greater challenges than ever. This is particularly true for those who follow the fast-paced telecommunications industry, where new legal and technological developments are happening almost overnight.

So, if part of your business is covering ours, we'd like to help. We're Pacific Telesis Group, parent company of Pacific Bell, Nevada Bell and a growing family of new, diversified communications businesses.

We'd like to send you our 1986 press kit and add you to our mailing list. These mailings don't just cover our company or our point of view. They include reports from "think tanks" and objective observers, and cover a wide variety of timely and important issues that affect our industry.

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Red alert at CNN

When ABC News broadcast a Soviet spokesman's response to a speech by President Reagan in February (see page 23), White House



communications director Patrick Buchanan reacted angrily, charging that the network gave "a trained propagandist . . . a standing he does not merit, a legitimacy he does not deserve." Even journalists who agreed that ABC had erred were surprised at the White House's sensitivity. But it wasn't the first time that government officials have expressed concern over Soviet access to American television screens.

Since last year the State Department has warily been eyeing a plan by Cable News Network to tap Soviet television news feeds directly from a Russian satellite. The feeds currently are beamed to Cuba and to Eastern bloc nations. When CNN joins the list of recipients, the Atlanta-based news channel will be able to use the material in its regular twenty-four-hour broadcasts.

CNN's creator, Ted Turner, describes the arrangement as more than just a convenient source of file footage. According to one of his press releases, the agreement between CNN and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio (Gostelradio) was forged in the "hope that through program exchange, we can further peace, understanding, and friendship between our nations." The Soviets are equally enthusiastic about the idea; they are providing the service free.

But U.S. officials remain skeptical. While the FCC has granted a temporary license allowing the hookup, the State Department has reserved the right to revoke permission if it determines the exchange is "inconsistent with the national interest." In a letter to FCC Chairman Mark Fowler last November, Ambassador Lady Dougan, coordinator of the State Department's Bureau of International

Communications and Information Policy, wrote that the decision would be based on "a general assessment of our bilateral relations with the Soviet Union, including progress in obtaining reduction of Soviet jamming [of Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty] and granting of appropriate reciprocal media access."

The latter issue seems to be of particular concern to the Reagan administration. Bob Ross, vice president and general counsel for the Turner Broadcasting System, which owns CNN, says that the conditions being placed on the satellite hookup can be traced in part to last year's Geneva summit. After Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev appeared on the cover of *Time*, Ross notes, President Reagan complained that American views were not given equal play in the Soviet media. Dougan denies that this was the main reason for the State Department's hesitance. But, she says, "One cannot dismiss the timing of Geneva. . . . I can't say it wasn't a factor." Dougan adds, "The balance of information is decidedly one-sided."

If the government does attempt to prevent CNN from using the Soviet satellite feed, Ross is confident that the effort will not survive a First Amendment challenge. But he says the network does not expect to have to resolve the issue in court. "After people [get] comfortable with it," he predicts, "the nervousness expressed by the conditional license [will] disappear."

For the moment, the controversy remains largely moot. CNN has yet to complete the earth station that will receive the Soviet television signals. Even when the hookup is established, it isn't clear how the twenty-four-hour network will use the Soviet footage. Indeed, some CNN executives are openly skeptical of the value of Soviet "news." Talking heads are the norm, they say. Dis-

asters, a CNN staple, are largely ignored. "They have very few visuals, and what they have tends to be in your local tractor factory," says Ed Turner, the network's executive vice-president for news. "We are simply waiting to see how the material can be used, if at all."

Ross is more optimistic. "What's interesting about Soviet news is that if an event happens, what you're going to get is their government's perception of that event," he says. "It's for the purpose of contrasting the different viewpoints on the issues of the day, and I think that's useful."

ABC apparently thought so, too. But Turner gives his assurance that American viewers will not be bombarded with unchallenged Soviet rhetoric. Any broadcasts representing the views of the Soviet government, he says, will be "accompanied with lots of caveats."

John Lancaster

John Lancaster is a reporter for the Atlanta Journal and Constitution.

COINTELPRO redux?

Has the Reagan administration stepped up domestic surveillance of political dissidents?

Those who say yes can point to cases of federal agents infiltrating sanctuary-movement church groups and a series of mysterious burglaries at the offices of organizations opposed to U.S. policies in Central and South America. Such incidents, they say, are reminiscent of COINTELPRO, the covert and illegal counterintelligence program against antiwar groups — and their publications — spearheaded by the FBI and the CIA during the 1960s and early 1970s. (See "Sabotaging the Dissident Press," *CJR*, March/April 1981.) Now, *Sojourners*, a monthly magazine published by the ecumenical Christian community of the same name, claims that it has obtained proof that its offices were under surveillance by federal agents.

Just before 6 A.M. on a Saturday morning in the fall of 1984, Ed Richardson, a *Sojourners* staff member, stopped by the magazine's Washington offices on his way out of town for the weekend. As he came around a corner to the building's back entrance, he saw four men peering into the offices. According to Richardson, the men were all in their late twenties or early thirties, white, and dressed in suits and ties. One carried a camera. Standing with their backs to Richardson, the men were visibly startled when he asked, "Can I help you?"

"Uh, is this Sojourners?" one of the men

Interesting, Isn't It?

- That the Daily News of Los Angeles has evolved over the last decade from a free weekly shopper into a fully-paid daily newspaper covering local, national and world events.
- That Daily News paid circulation growth has consistently outpaced every other major newspaper in Southern California, and currently ranks as the 65th largest daily in the country.
- That the Daily News has the 13th highest classified lineage in the country.
- That the Daily News was recently purchased by Jack Kent Cooke for \$176 million.
- That the Daily News was recently honored by the California Newspaper Publishers Association for outstanding community service.
- That the Daily News was recently honored by the Los Angeles Press Club for best overall coverage among Los Angeles newspapers with more than 100,000 circulation.

The Daily News may not be the largest newspaper in Los Angeles, but considering these outstanding achievements, it has certainly become the most interesting.

Interesting, isn't it?
Daily News

reportedly asked, sheepishly. Richardson said that it was the magazine's offices, and the man said that the four had come to visit the community. No one lives at the magazine's offices, Richardson told him, adding that Saturday morning just after dawn was a strange time to pay a visit. He then offered to give the man the name of someone who would arrange a visit at a more convenient hour. The man politely declined the offer; then, together with the other three, he headed toward the street. "All the while," Richardson recalled in a statement to the police a few days after the incident, "they acted as if they had been caught at something and just wanted to get away."

When they reached the street, Richardson says, the four men got into their car — a late-model dark-brown sedan with a long CB antenna attached to the left side — and sped away, tires screeching. Richardson took

**'All the while,'
Richardson recalled,
[the four men] acted as
if they had
been caught at something
and just
wanted to get away.'**

down the car's license: Virginia plate G-306, with a 1985 sticker in the corner. But because there was no evidence of burglary or any other crime having been committed, the District of Columbia police and the state of Virginia refused to identify the owner.

Last fall, however, after several attempts to trace the plate, the magazine was put in touch with a former government intelligence officer now working as a private investigator. In the February issue, *Sojourners* publisher Joe Roos wrote that the investigator had discovered that the car's license number was one of a block of numbers assigned to the National Security Agency, the highly secretive organization charged with handling the nation's communications intelligence. "Since government agencies often exchange license plates," Roos wrote, "we are not certain that NSA agents visited us that morning. However, it is clear that we were subjects of government surveillance."

When questioned about *Sojourners'* findings, NSA spokeswoman Carolyn Johnson replied that the agency was unfamiliar with the magazine and would neither confirm nor deny its allegations. L.Z.

The Great Wall of Japan

Last July, when Toyota Motor Corporation held a press conference in Tokyo to announce that it was going to build plants in the United States and Canada, only Japanese reporters were permitted to attend. A month later, when Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone laid a wreath at the memorial for the victims of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, only Japanese photographers stood in the prime position for the still shot. And when the Japanese Ministry of Transport held a press conference in December to announce a new development in the investigation of the Japan Air Lines crash that killed 516 people, only Japanese reporters were invited.

American and other foreign journalists were denied access to these events by an old adversary: the *kisha kurabu*, or press clubs. For decades, the approximately 400 clubs, which are organized around various Japanese industries, institutions, and government agencies, have been a source of irritation to the foreign press, often keeping foreign reporters at bay until their members can publish a story. This past year, however, foreign correspondents have mounted a campaign to break down the barriers that have been raised by the clubs.

The first kisha club was founded in 1890 when Japanese journalists banded together to pressure the imperial government to allow reporters to cover the first session of the Diet, Japan's parliament. Since then, news coverage of the country has increasingly become regulated by a network of clubs of which all daily newspaper, wire service, and television reporters are members.

The clubs arrange press conferences for the institutions they cover — and establish the ground rules. A few clubs, such as those covering the prime minister and the foreign minister, allow foreign reporters to attend their press conferences. But most exclude foreign journalists as well as Japanese free-

lance and magazine reporters. In some cases, a club has virtual veto power over who has access to sources in the institution it covers. When Anthony Barbieri of the Baltimore *Sun* wanted to write a story about capital punishment, a government spokesman required him to get permission from the justice ministry's kisha club before he would even tell Barbieri the number of Japanese criminals on death row. "[The clubs are] a cartel-like organization in which the major Japanese newspapers control the flow of information from the ministries to the world," says Christopher Chipello, a Tokyo correspondent for *The Asian Wall Street Journal*.

Many Japan-based reporters agree that the kisha clubs are most troublesome to them when they are trying to cover breaking news. According to Sam Jameson, the *Los Angeles Times'* Tokyo bureau chief, who has been covering Japan for twenty-three years, American reporters have wide access to Japanese officials — if they are willing to wait days or weeks for their interview requests to be granted. When they can't wait, many find that they must depend on the Japanese press.

Beginning early last year, a string of seemingly arbitrary restrictions by kisha clubs strained the patience of many foreign reporters to the breaking point. In February 1985, when South Korean opposition leader Kim Dae-Jung stopped in Tokyo on his way home from voluntary exile in the U.S., the Narita airport kisha club saw to it that only thirty-five foreign reporters were allowed to attend his press conference. After a loud argument between correspondents and club officials, all foreign journalists present were allowed in. Later, Foreign Press in Japan, a foreign correspondents' organization, sent an angry letter of protest to the Japanese Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association and Japan's Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe deplo-
 ring the "attempt . . . to treat a press

Blackballed: when South Korean opposition leader Kim Dae-Jung, accompanied by two U.S. congressmen, held a press conference in Tokyo on his way home from exile, airport press club officials tried to prevent foreign reporters from attending.



conference as though it were a private party."

On another occasion, a kisha club tried to exclude American and other foreign reporters from a press conference held by a U.S. trade group visiting Tokyo. Only a last-minute appeal to the group — the Semiconductor Industry Association — enabled foreign reporters to attend.

An incident that particularly angered *New York Times* Tokyo bureau chief Clyde Haberman was last summer's Toyota press conference. According to Haberman, *Times* reporter Susan Chira heard about the scheduled conference by chance and was refused permission to attend. In response to protests, Toyota held a second conference the same day for the foreign press. It featured a lower-ranking company official and occurred after Tokyo's afternoon dailies had already published the story. Toyota and its kisha club, complains Haberman, acted as if the company's plans to expand into North America were "the province of the Japanese people only."

Last September, after a series of meetings with FPIJ representatives, the Japanese Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association issued a new guideline recommending that all kisha clubs allow foreign journalists to attend their press conferences. Foreign Minister Abe also met with FPIJ members and publicly appealed to the clubs to offer foreign reporters greater access.

Since then, says FPIJ chairman William Horsley, who is Tokyo correspondent for the BBC, the situation has improved somewhat. The kisha clubs attached to the finance and education ministries, for example, have adopted the new guideline and now allow foreign journalists to attend their press conferences. In December, however, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Andrew Horvat had great difficulty covering a Tokyo murder trial because the court's kisha club prohibits police, prosecutors, and other court officials from talking to the foreign press.

Because neither the publishers association nor the foreign minister has the authority to order the clubs to heed the new guideline, the FPIJ must pressure each of the 400 clubs individually. Last January, a number of FPIJ members hand-delivered letters to the major ministries and kisha clubs reminding them of the new policy. Afterward, according to Horsley, a few more clubs agreed to comply. "There are still fundamental problems," he says, "but I'm pleased by the progress."

Deborah Duffy

Deborah Duffy is a reporter for the Hartford Courant.

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CAPITAL LETTER

by WILLIAM BOOT

Diagnosing Durenberger

A newspaper can accomplish amazing things if it really puts its mind to it, as the conservative *Washington Times* demonstrated not long ago. Without benefit of medical training, the paper made a psychiatric diagnosis of a prominent United States senator — never having spoken to him.

The patient: David Durenberger, fifty-one, liberal Republican from Minnesota, chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence, watchdog of spooks and “covert” action.

The diagnosis: mental instability.

The recommended treatment: keep patient out of reach of secrets.

The *Washington Times* had thrown itself into the Durenberger story after reports that the senator was going through a marital and midlife crisis surfaced in the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, Knight-Ridder newspapers, and *The Washington Post*. None of these concluded that Durenberger was crazy or posed a security risk. This didn't prevent *The Washington Times* from launching a thorough investigation into the senator's mental health.

George Archibald and Bill Gertz, the reporters assigned to the story, faced formidable obstacles. The senator had talked openly about his personal problems with his hometown *Star and Tribune* and other newspapers. But he knew the far-right *Washington Times* was extremely hostile to his moderately liberal policies. There was concern on the part of his staff that the paper was out to “get” Durenberger. Accordingly, the senator refused to recline on the *Times*'s editorial couch or even to grant a quick stand-up interview.

Lack of access did not deter the *Times*. It marshaled the available evidence — chiefly clippings of earlier news articles — and on March 12-13 published a two-

part front-page “exposé” totaling some 5,500 words. The series strongly suggested the hapless senator was a security risk teetering on the edge of insanity.

Then came a March 14 editorial which drew conclusions even more starkly: “The senator has come emotionally unstuck [and] shows increasing signs of debilitating distress. . . . No man so unraveled has any business being a member, let alone chairman, of the Senate intelligence committee — one of the most sensitive committees on the Hill and one of the leakiest.”

Readers may be wondering what evidence the paper cited to back up its startling claim. Here it is:

- Two of Durenberger's sons had undergone counseling for drug dependency.

- The senator had separated from his wife, had moved into a religious retreat/boarding house near Washington, and had begun seeing a psychiatrist for what his press secretary termed marriage counseling.

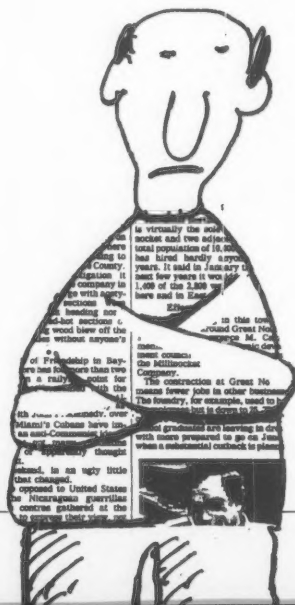
- He had had an affair with his twenty-eight-year-old former secretary, which apparently ended last year in a spat at Washington National Airport. She tried to hit him with her purse.

- He had jumped a taxi line in Boston, got into a shouting match with a policeman who objected, and been arrested for disorderly conduct. A judge later dismissed the charge as groundless.

These events are evidence of turmoil in the senator's personal life, but it would be taking a long leap indeed to say they demonstrate that he has gone around the bend. Yet the *Times* took such a leap, with sly references in its March 13 piece to Durenberger's “mental instability” and to potential security risks posed by his “mental health traumas.” To bolster such suggestions, the paper juxtaposed them with quotes from authorities on security even though the experts refused to comment on Durenberger's case and spoke only in generalities.

A George Woloshyn of the Office of Personnel Management was quoted as saying those who are “mentally unstable” should not have a security clearance. He added this enlightening comment: “Basically a person who is psychologically unbalanced . . . is not fully in control of his faculties.” Yes, but what about Dave Durenberger? (Woloshyn wrote Durenberger an apologetic letter after the article appeared, saying that he had been quoted out of context. According to an OPM spokesman, Bill Gertz had assured Woloshyn that he was seeking general information and had no specific “security risk” in mind.)

The paper also quoted Frederick Solomon, a psychiatrist “who has studied ways to prevent disturbed persons from attacking public officials” for the U.S. Secret Service. Durenberger a potential John Hinckley? That's the insinuation,



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but breathe easy — Solomon said seeking psychiatric help was, in fact, “not a flag of great risk.”

Another intelligence authority quoted by the newspaper was Durenberger’s estranged wife, Penny, who once worked for the top-secret National Security Agency. She said she “understood” security concerns about her husband. No ax to grind there.

The only source cited by the newspaper who said Durenberger should not have access to secrets was an unnamed “senior administration intelligence expert.” (U.S. intelligence agencies are not happy with Durenberger because he has publicly criticized the CIA and its director, William Casey.) The paper’s informant said that if Durenberger had been in the CIA his security clearance would have been revoked — an action which he said can be taken in the event of “such personal problems as separation or divorce, extramarital affairs, psychiatric care, or unorthodox social behavior.”

My own intelligence sources — among them former CIA chief William Colby — point out that, in fact, many intelligence agents go through separation and divorce without losing security clearances and that the CIA maintains its own top-secret-cleared psychiatrists to treat active duty officers.

The affair with the secretary presumably could not be used by the KGB to blackmail Durenberger because it is out in the open.

As to “unorthodox social behavior,” maneuvers far more bizarre than jumping a taxi line have been carried out by CIA men in good standing, according to former agent John Stockwell — such as using a trick buttonhole flower to spray foul-smelling chemicals on Soviet diplomats at embassy receptions.

Apparently as evidence of Durenberger’s “instability” in action, *The Washington Times* cited his “meddling” in foreign policy (“including attempts to block military support for resistance forces in Marxist dictatorships”); placing liberals and public relations men on the intelligence committee’s staff; criticizing Ronald Reagan’s Star Wars space defense plan; and taking “contradictory” positions (e.g., he revealed a

schizophrenic streak on “social issues” by backing an end to federally funded abortions but opposing restoration of school prayer).

In the newspaper’s view, evidently, only an unbalanced person could do such things. This astonishingly narrow perspective goes a long way toward explaining why *The Washington Times* is not taken as seriously as it might be; the paper’s ideological dogmatism tends to pollute its news coverage, which often makes *The Washington Post*’s would-be rival look silly and irresponsible.

This is a shame, because Washington badly needs a credible second paper. An ultra-right-wing paper would be fine, so long as it kept its editorial stance from clouding its news judgment. As it is, the rest of the Washington press corps must read *The Washington Times* selectively, trusting some by-lines (for instance, the accurate, scoop-scoring veteran Jeremiah O’Leary) much more than others.

In important respects the paper has, in fact, come a long way since its founding in 1982. The amateurism that marred its early days now surfaces only occasionally. Editor Arnaud de Borchgrave brought with him some well-placed intelligence sources, allowing the paper to score impressive scoops on the spy/defector beat. In terms of the amount of news and opinion it conveys, *The Washington Times* is probably among the top fifteen newspapers in the country.

But so long as it wields a hatchet to chop logic and reputations, so long as it regards its news columns as vessels into which true believers can pour New Right propaganda, *The Washington Times* is bound to remain something of an embarrassment to American journalism.

Mixing it up with McLaughlin

Watching prominent Washington journalists pontificate on television never used to be my idea of a good time. I readily conceded that they had powerful contacts on Capitol Hill and the “Georgetown cocktail circuit.” But often I found myself thinking, “Couldn’t any quasi-intelligent *New York Times* reader have

come up with that comment?” *Agronsky and Company*, the prototype of the journalists’ panel show, seemed like a substitute for *Sominex*.

Given these prejudices, the advent in 1982 of *The McLaughlin Group*, another program featuring well-connected Washington reporters (and billed as “unrehearsed inside opinion and prediction”) did not pique my curiosity. It should have.

While Agronsky is very difficult to switch on, I belatedly discovered that the Group, hosted by former Jesuit priest and ex-Nixon speech-writer John McLaughlin, is very difficult to switch off. It’s interesting to consider the reasons why.

One of these was underscored by Jack Germond, syndicated columnist and Group regular, as he emerged from the makeup room before a recent taping of the show: “I hope CJR isn’t going to call this journalism.”

How would he describe it?

“Show biz!”

Yes, indeed. A key to the show’s success is that McLaughlin is a true showman, adept at heightening the drama of confrontation. Some professional hockey promoters may encourage fighting in the rink. McLaughlin definitely encourages verbal slashing on the air; not only encourages, participates. Agronsky’s polite repartee is no match for hammed-up exchanges such as this:

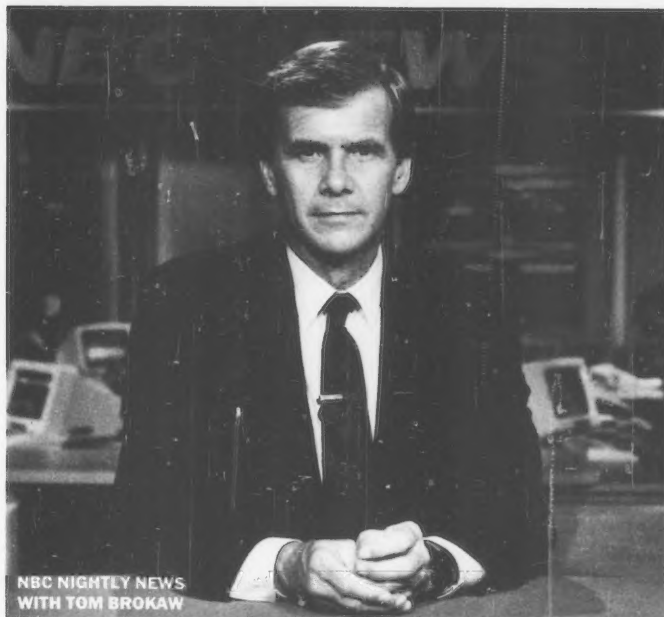
McLAUGHLIN: In light of your philosophy and practice of personal financial management, Novak, I would say a priori that you would stand squarely behind a tax amnesty. Am I right?

ROBERT NOVAK (columnist and Group regular): How would you like a slander suit, McLaughlin? . . . People who have, ah, buh-buh-buh budget deficit mania (pause) . . .

McLAUGHLIN: Is that brain-lock?

John McLaughlin terms the Group “the rude boys” in ads for the show, but rudeness is only one of its charms.

A great danger on a program such as this is pomposity, a pit into which Agronsky (whose theme music, fittingly, is “Procession of the Nobles”) has fallen. Banal “insights” delivered portentously from a TV studio are hard



NBC NIGHTLY NEWS
WITH TOM BROKAW



TODAY
Bryant Gumbel and Jane Pauley



NBC NEWS AT SUNRISE
Connie Chung and Bob Jamieson

Audience data: Nielsen Television Index. Season to date through March 21, 1986 (total persons).

Why More Americans Watch NBC News' Three Daily Programs

Each network news department produces three Monday-through-Friday programs. More people, a total of over 30 million a day, watch NBC's three — NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw, Today and NBC News at Sunrise—than watch those of the other networks.

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NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw:

"Brokaw likes to be where the action is; he is at his best with breaking stories... More than the other two, he projects a sense of involvement, the possibility that he shares his viewers' values."

— *Esquire Magazine*

Space Shuttle: "All three networks performed with admirable sensitivity... NBC's Brokaw was the coolest and most lucid of the three."

— *Time Magazine*

Philippines: "NBC's Tom Brokaw was the most visible of the network anchor-men for coverage of Marcos' final fall..."

— *New York Daily News*

Today: "NBC's 'Today' show attracted the largest audience ever for a morning news and informational program last week when it was broadcast from South America."

— *Associated Press*

NBC News at Sunrise: "'Today' isn't the only morning star shining in the ratings... 'NBC News at Sunrise,' the newscast for early risers, has landed first-place honors."

— *USA Today*

NBC NEWS

TUNED IN TO THE WORLD

to stomach. But it can be equally dangerous *not* to come up with these "insights," as *The New Republic* suggested in a savage 1981 satire, "Jerkofsky & Company":

HUGH SIDEWALL: You know, Marvin, we sit here in Washington pretending that we have some kind of special insight into the world, and really we don't know much more than anyone else. . . .

MARVIN JERKOFSKY: I see. Well, tell me this, Hugh. If, as you seem to suggest, you know nothing about anything, why do I pay you to drone on week after week on my show?

SIDEWALL: Well, you know, Marvin, that's a very good question, and it's one I've heard being asked at the very highest reaches of government in my major lunches around Washington. . . . But there are no conclusions at this point and we'll just have to wait and see. It's hard to say. No one knows for sure. Any guess would be premature.

The Group is immune to this kind of ridicule because it satirizes itself, in the process avoiding both pompous pontificating and "Sidewallian" mushiness. Each week, McLaughlin orchestrates a kind of self-parody in which he and his Washington-insider guests make impossibly precise — and often contradictory — predictions with an air of nonchalant authority, only to be derided by the other panelists.

A regular feature of the show is McLaughlin's "metaphysical certitude" question. For instance, he demanded recently: On a scale of 0 to 100, 100 being "metaphysical certitude," what are Gary Hart's chances of winning the 1988 Democratic nomination? The responses ranged from 10 to 30. McLaughlin sighed and shook his head.

"I must tell you," he said, "the answer is fifty-one percent."

This basic punch line in which McLaughlin gets the last word is somehow funny every time he delivers it. Sitcom buffs relish predictability in their favorite characters, and the Group has been aptly compared to a situation comedy (about which, more in a moment).

Facetious though the group's predictions often seem, McLaughlin is in dead earnest in insisting that firm forecasts be made. Prior to a recent taping of the show, he called the Group together on the set — a raised dais with red swivel

chairs set against a blue backdrop — and issued marching orders for a segment in which southern Senate races would be predicted.

Turning to *Newsweek* bureau chief Morton Kondracke, a regular panelist, he said sternly: "You said it's too close to call. **KNOCK THAT OFF!**"

KONDRACKE (contritely): No, no . . . ah, I do think it's too close to call but I'll play the game.

MCLAUGHLIN: You've gotta come down — nothing is too close to call. Now, is Bumpers in a close race?

During the show, Kondracke, as per instructions, was firm in his Senate race forecasts: Jeremiah Denton and Dale Bumpers to win, Paula Hawkins to lose.

Novak, Germond, and "guest star" Michael Kramer of *New York* magazine predicted the Democrats would lose a seat in Louisiana, but Kondracke forecast that the party would retain it. McLaughlin: "Very daring, very audacious on your part, Mor-tahn. However, you're wrong."

Poor Morton. Flustered, full-faced, earnest to a fault, he is continually put down on the show, often cut off in mid-stammer. ("That's self-evident I would say, Mor-tahn. . . . Tell us something we don't know, will you? . . . You really took a swan dive, Mort. . . . Let me tell you something, Mort: Two weeks off the show hasn't helped you one bit.") Standing politically somewhere between right-wingers Novak and McLaughlin and a more liberal Germond, Kondracke's opinions are tentative, while the others' are emphatic, which makes him vulnerable.

He gives the impression of an ordinary person — a straight man, if you will — attempting to deal with idiosyncratic comedy characters. Mort-In-Trouble is a weekly subplot in a journalistic *All In the Family*. (McLaughlin, chatting after a taping of the show in March, did not object to the sitcom analogy. He seems to enjoy discussing the cast of characters. "Mort's the good guy but he's also the victim. They pounce on him, I pounce on him," he says. Many viewers, identifying with the ordinary man under attack, come to Kondracke's defense in letters to the show.)

Germond — burly, gruff, and sardonic — is the tough oldtimer with a soft heart. "He creates the cynical illusion, but he's a Humphrey liberal," McLaughlin says. "All the way."

Frowning, dark-browed Novak is the bad guy, of course. A consummate performer, he acts the part with enthusiasm, his mouth in a drooping sneer, his words dripping with vitriol, his mind reaching for the next provocative epithet: "The black unemployment, the Hispanic unemployment: what's going on is these kids *don't want to work!* . . . The dogooders and the buttinskis just can't stand the idea of a sportsman having a gun! . . . The way to get rid of Quaddafi is to slit his throat with no fingerprints!"

McLaughlin says: "I assume he likes that role — Prince of Darkness. A day without Novak is a day without darkness. We get more hate mail on Novak than anybody."

Weekly guest panelists often wear a hunted look, as if they have been tossed into a tank full of sharks.

And what role does the fifty-nine-year-old moderator play? McLaughlin (who left the priesthood in 1975 in order to get married) seems type-cast for the part of angry father, imposing discipline on his errant flock. Florid of face, with thinning red-greying hair, a red scalp, and reddish horn-rimmed glasses (through which he scowls theatrically), his very color suggests irascibility as he rushes his boys along to the next issue ("Quickly! Quickly! . . . Let's get out").

In terms of substance, McLaughlin, introducing each segment with videotape and a stentorian news summary, is simply more informative than the meandering Agronsky. McLaughlin's formula seems to be a winner. Today 205 mainly PBS stations carry the show — up from one in 1982 and 90 in 1983. The program is very popular with Reagan administration officials. And it is popular with Washington journalists — McLaughlin says they are clamoring to appear on the show "because it is a status symbol and because the exposure leads to higher lecture fees." And perhaps because, secretly, they have always wanted a career in comedy. ■

COMMENT

Sorry, Pat, sorry, Ron

It was the evening of February 26. President Reagan had delivered his speech on national defense and Representative Jim Wright had responded for the Democrats. On ABC, David Brinkley began what was supposed to be a short satellite interview with Vladimir Posner of Radio Moscow, who had often appeared on ABC. But Reagan had run short and Brinkley was stuck with Posner for the seven or eight long minutes until the start of *Dynasty*. Posner didn't mind; in his fluent Americanese, he tore into Reagan's speech and went on at length about Soviet disarmament proposals.

This episode did not pass unwatched. The next morning, the White House director of communications, Patrick J. Buchanan, rushed a letter to ABC News: "We were rather astonished . . . to see ABC give eight minutes of rebuttal time on national television to a trained propagandist for the Soviet Union. . . . ABC gave this Soviet propagandist a standing he does not merit, a legitimacy he does not deserve. . . . The debate over what America requires . . . is a debate for Americans to conduct." The letter concluded by comparing Posner's appearance to putting a Nazi on the BBC after a Churchill speech.

A few hours later, Richard C. Wald, senior vice-president of ABC News, acknowledged that the network had erred in "letting [Posner] push on at too great a length without an opposing voice to point out the errors and the inconsistencies in what he said." In addition, Roone Arledge, president of ABC News, sent Reagan a telegram of apology.

Others, outside ABC, seemed to think an apology was called for. Van Gordon Sauter, president of CBS News, sniffed: "I personally don't find it surprising that they complained." Benjamin Bradlee, executive editor of *The Washington Post*, opined: "There are two sides in a democratic society. Communism is not a third side." John Corry, a television critic for *The New York Times*, maintained that there was "no point in introducing the [Soviet] perspective into a policy debate. It blurs East-West distinctions."

Not all fell into line. Jim Squires, executive editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, said: "I'd be absolutely flabbergasted if the government told me or told ABC that we had to go get a specific response from a specific person. . . . Why should we put up with it when they say we can't get a response from a particular person?" Lawrence K. Grossman, president of NBC News, wrote to the *Times*: "Fortunately for the nation, neither *The New York Times*, nor *The Wall Street Journal*, nor the news wire services, nor any network news organization operates on the basis of Mr. Corry's constricted notion of what constitutes free speech."

Unfortunately, many in the news media seemed to accept

just such a notion — perhaps because they did not recognize what was at stake. A letter from the White House director of communications, it must be noted, is not merely a blast from Angry Viewer. Criticism from government is different from other criticism, even when it makes no specific threat. First Amendment scholar Thomas I. Emerson has written that such communication from government "becomes for all practical purposes an informal sanction against private dissenting expression, often equivalent in its effect to a formal sanction." If you doubt this distinction, try to think of any nongovernmental Angry Viewer who could obtain similar mumblings of regret within twenty-four hours.

The principle at issue here — that government should not be able to limit the scope of debate about its policies — is worth defending. Thus it is dismaying that so many journalists have concurred in the White House position. They seem resigned to a journalism which, to paraphrase Mark Twain, takes pride in its possession of two precious things: freedom of the press and the prudence never to practice it.

The (nearly) silent treatment

Television news often follows print, but recently national television broached a subject that U.S. newspapers seem almost congenitally reluctant to cover. This is the controversy over the potentially harmful effects of radiation emitted by video display terminals. On January 30, *NBC Nightly News* aired a brief item that dealt with this touchy subject. Tom Brokaw reported that a new Swedish study showed that pulsed radiation from VDTs could cause fetal abnormalities in pregnant mice. "The findings mean that we can no longer rule out the possibility that radiation could affect human fetuses," Brokaw said.

No major U.S. daily picked up the original Reuters story from Stockholm, providing further evidence of a blind spot in print journalism that was diagnosed in the *Review* some years ago (see "VDTs: The Overlooked Story Right in the Newsroom," January/February 1981). Canadian papers showed more interest in this news from abroad. VDTs MAY AFFECT FETUSES, STUDY SAYS, said the *Toronto Globe and Mail*; VDT RAYS KILL MICE FETUSES, stated the *Toronto Sun*.

More than two weeks later, on February 18, *The Wall Street Journal's* "Labor Letter" mentioned the study — but then only as a postscript to a short piece on the study of pregnancy risks among VDT users. By this time, however, the story had taken a new twist: Swedish health officials were downplaying the mice study on the ground that a new analysis of the data showed that the effects of pulsed

radiation were not as significant as originally reported. Still, because the scientists who carried out the study stand by their findings and because the health officials who re-analyzed the data did not actually refute the original findings, many interested observers were left more confused than enlightened. The only clear conclusion to emerge from this tangled tale is that more research is needed.

The question of what effects very low frequency electromagnetic fields may have on the reproductive process in humans would be well on the way to being settled if only we had the results of two kinds of rather obvious studies. One involves exposing pregnant laboratory animals to simulated VDT pulses; the other calls for following the pregnancy histories of VDT users.

So far, neither approach has been able to attract funding — or, indeed, much interest — in the U.S. One agency that is interested in this issue is the U.S. Office of Naval Research, which is sponsoring a concerted effort to verify the so-called Delgado effect. As readers of the *Review* will recall (see "VDT Radiation: What's Known, What Isn't," November/December 1984), in 1982 members of Dr. José Delgado's laboratory in Madrid reported that extremely weak pulsed magnetic fields can have adverse effects on chick embryos. This spring, five laboratories in the U.S., Canada, Spain, and Sweden will begin identical experiments, using identical equipment, to find out whether the effect is reproducible — the sine qua non for scientific respectability — or whether some factor other than electromagnetic radiation is disrupting the growth of the eggs.

As for the second kind of study — an epidemiology of VDT pregnancy mishaps — progress has been exceedingly slow. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health has been promising to carry out some such study for years. If this study ever manages to win approval from the White House budget office, which seems unlikely during the present administration, it will be a "retrospective" study — a not very reliable approach in which women are asked to recall what happened during their pregnancies — as opposed to a "prospective" study, in which the pregnancy histories of VDT users are monitored along the way. The only researcher planning a prospective study is Dr. Irving Selikoff, professor emeritus of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine in New York City. Despite his international reputation for research on asbestos, Selikoff has not yet found assured funding for his study, which he estimates will cost more than \$500,000. (9 to 5, the national association of working women, and the Service Employees International Union have agreed to supply the work-force sample.)

In much the same way that the discovery of more than a dozen suspicious "clusters" of problem pregnancies and miscarriages among women who work on or near VDTs alarmed office workers, so, too, the effects reported by Delgado sent shock waves throughout the scientific community. This was because it had been taken for granted that very weak electromagnetic radiation posed no harm to human beings. If the Delgado effect checks out, then other types of radiation — including radio and TV broadcast sig-

nals, radar, and power lines — might also be risky. Electronic pollution would then join toxic chemicals as one of the most intractable of our environmental problems. VDT radiation has become a test case, on which a great deal hangs in the balance.

If it turns out that VDT radiation is biologically active, the prevailing apathetic response to questions about VDT safety might well be regarded as irresponsible. People would no longer be asking why no one cares to know if VDTs can cause pregnancy problems, but why so few cared to investigate the issue. For journalists, there would be no excuse, since the story had been there all along, right in front of every publisher's and editor's nose.

LOUIS SLESIN

Louis Slesin is editor and publisher of Microwave News and publisher of VDT News.

Darts and laurels

Laurel: to David Cole, news director of radio station WLIP in Kenosha, Wisconsin, for his enterprising work in helping to bring a murderer to justice. Intrigued by an appeal from a listener who suspected that the death of her four-year-old brother in 1969 had been due not to a fall, as was ruled at the time, but rather to physical abuse at the hands of the children's stepfather, Cole set off on the investigative trail. Five months and hundreds of after-work hours later, hours spent interviewing neighbors, plowing through faded records, and consulting with pathologists, Cole delivered a thirty-five-page report to county officials that persuaded them to reopen the case — and then, after charges had been brought, went on the air with his story. In February, the convicted man received a prison sentence of twenty years.

Laurel: to *NBC Nightly News* and investigative reporter Brian Ross, for an uneasy-listening series on the latest variations on an old, familiar theme — the practice of payola in the record industry, this time as conducted by independent promoters and orchestrated, quite possibly, by the mob. Documenting allegations of payoffs in cash, cars, women, and drugs to rock-station dee-jays in return for playing certain releases on the air, as well as charges of fraudulent manipulation of the influential top-forty charts, Ross's report (February 24-26) did not soft-pedal the fact that presidents of several leading record companies, including the head of NBC's parent, RCA, had refused to comment on screen, some saying they feared repercussions. Within days of the disclosures, MCA, Warner, CBS, Polygram, A & M, and RCA announced that ties with independent promoters would be cut, and by early April a Senate investigation was under way.

Dart: to *The Des Moines Register's* "Iowa Boy" columnist Chuck Offenburger, for a pretty unclassy act. Invited last fall by Nevada, Iowa, schoolteacher Naomi Smith to visit her first-grade class during Newspaper in Education Week this spring, Offenburger first accepted, later reconfirmed, then suddenly, only a few days before the event,

cancelled, leaving a lot of sure-to-be-disappointed students with a lot of Offenburger clippings stuck up on their bulletin board. Offenburger's reason: he had just learned that, in teaching her Newspaper in Education unit, Smith had been using not Offenburger's own paper, but the *Omaha World-Herald*, which competes with the *Register* in another region of the state. (Swiftly responding to Smith's urgent plea for help, the *World-Herald* dispatched columnist Bob McMorris to make the 200-mile trip.)

Laurel: to *The Washington Post* and staff writer Stuart Auerbach, for a February 16 front-page report on the unprecedented degree to which former officials of the Reagan administration and Reagan-Bush campaign aides are pursuing lucrative careers peddling their apparent influence with the White House. Focusing first on former deputy chief of staff Michael K. Deaver, whose public relations firm now holds \$2,475,000 in contracts to deliver to foreign interests — most notably the South Koreans — that precious thing called “access,” Auerbach goes on to cite other firms headed by, among others, Robert Gray (who ran Reagan's 1981 inaugural committee), Paul J. Manafort (political director of the 1984 Republican National Convention), and Stanton D. Anderson (director of economic affairs for the Reagan administration), all of which pick up multimillion-dollar fees from their Japanese, Nigerian, Filipino, and Brazilian customers for efforts to influence — and often block — U.S. government policies. The magnitude of the *Post*'s disclosures, which *Time* expanded on in a March 3 cover story, prompted *New York Times* columnist William Safire to call for the appointment of a special counsel to investigate the “excess of access” before the “incipient corruption” explodes in the Republican party's face.

Laurel: to *The San Diego Union*, for maintaining a healthy separation between the publisher's church and the editorial state. Undaunted by the close ties of publisher Helen Copley, a Catholic, to the diocese-founded University of San Diego (Copley has sat on the university's board for fourteen years and has been a major contributor to the school's recent building program), the *Union* published a page-one exposé of the many scandals plaguing the diocese and its bishop (who also functions as chairman of the university's board of trustees). Among the more embarrassing revelations: suspicious real-estate deals benefiting his private secretary, questionable handling of church funds, out-of-court settlements of lawsuits involving charges of homosexuality in the priesthood and the campus seminary. According to the March 6 issue of the alternative *San Diego Reader*, publication of the *Union*'s revelations was followed by several presbyterial council meetings, headed by the bishop and attended by other priests named in the article, at which Copley's role as publisher was seen as presenting a serious conflict of interest with her obligations as a Catholic and member of the university's board. Before they could act on their decision to have her removed as a trustee, however, Copley herself — who, in fact, had no involvement in the decision to run the story — chose to withdraw.

Dart: to the *Daily World* of Opelousas, Louisiana, and

its publisher, Aaron Parsons, for an uninspired plan by which, during a specified six-week period, reporters and photographers could earn daily points toward “Bonus Dollars” from an unnamed three-judge panel for producing “the BEST, or the MOST, or the MOST UNUSUAL ‘Good News or OPTIMISTIC’ ” stories or pictures for the *World*.

Laurel: to *The Virginian-Pilot/The Ledger Star*, of Norfolk, for “When Two Worlds Collide,” a sensitive and illuminating examination of the clash that can occur between “public press and private lives.” When the National Press Photographers Association announced in February that it had awarded a first prize in its Picture of the Year Competition to a stunning front-page, spot-news photograph that had evoked strong complaints from readers when it was published in the paper last July — the photo showed three bloodied local youngsters at the scene of an automobile accident in which they had just been involved — the *Pilot/Ledger Star* seized the opportunity to explore the pertinent moral and professional questions with the inexperienced photographer who had chanced on the scene, the editors who made the decision to give the picture page-one play, members of the community who thought that printing it was indecent, and the victims themselves, who “hated” the picture and thought it “gross and cruel.”

Dart: to the Anchorage, Alaska, *Times*, and Marilyn Atwood, the paper's weekly columnist in Washington (and daughter of the owner), for an unseemly March 2 account of a meeting of the “Off the Record Club,” which periodically brings together certain journalists and Republican senators for questions and lunch. Members enjoy “a special camaraderie with Republican leaders and a unique pipeline for news,” Atwood smugly told her readers, because “club membership is limited to journalists of high standing and considerable refinement,” with no “trouble-makers” allowed. Other journalists could be similarly favored, she wrote, if they would abandon their adversarial role.

Laurel: to *The San Francisco Bay Guardian* and editor Bruce Bruggmann, for an unrelenting, fifteen-year campaign to clean up “the oldest established permanent floating crap game in California” — the California Newspaper Publishers Association's practice of soliciting outside sponsorship of its annual Better Newspaper Contest from the likes of Pacific Bell, Southern Pacific, Chevron, United Technologies, and dozens of other corporations that are natural subjects of coverage by the press. Persuaded to end his boycott of the contest by last year's apparent reforms (the publishers had finally voted to discontinue their use of judging facilities — and judges — provided by the companies), Bruggmann entered this year's contest only to learn from an acknowledgment of thanks printed in the CNPA magazine that funds for the award plaques had been paid for by the very same companies once again. Later, at the publishers' annual convention, a rump movement led by Bruggmann and the California Association of Newspaper Editors produced a roll-call vote that, as Bruggmann triumphantly reported in the February 26 *Bay Guardian*, finished off any outside corporate involvement in the awards “once and for all.” ■

New buzzword, old philosophy

The "mixed economy," that marriage of public and private enterprise so widely hailed in the 1960s, has lost some of its pizzazz these days. The buzzword of the '80s is privatization, and it's firing the imagination of countries the world over—capitalist, Socialist and Communist alike.

In Europe, for example, the British government has sold more than a dozen state-owned companies—some of the giants of its aerospace, communications, energy, tourism and trucking industries—and shifted more than 400,000 workers from public to private payrolls. Similar moves are taking place in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden.

In Asia, Japan is divesting the government railway, airline and telephone systems. South Korea is selling off banks and heavy industry. Less developed nations like Bangladesh and Pakistan are returning nationalized jute, textile, rice and flour mills to their former owners.

The economic momentum has even spread to the Communist world. The Cuban government is selling state-owned houses to tenants. More than 10 million self-employed capitalists operate restaurants, street stalls, repair shops and other small enterprises in China. And in rural areas, farmers are prospering by selling surplus produce in the cities, and keeping the proceeds. Entrepreneurs in Hungary bid for the right to run their own businesses, and the system is catching on in other Eastern European nations.

Why the interest in privatization? Mostly because it works. Especially in the Communist lands, the privatization process has

tended to raise the standard of living.

Not surprisingly, privatization is becoming popular in America, too. Prompted by the need to cut the deficit, the Reagan administration is seeking to cut costs by turning over to private operators such traditional loss leaders as Amtrak and the Federal Housing Administration, which insures private mortgages. Other possible initiatives: selling airport landing slots to individual carriers, for example, or letting private companies sort and deliver first-class mail.

Actually, in this country municipal governments have gotten the jump on the feds—contracting out for everything from hospital care to airport management. The town of La Mirada, California, has been one of the leaders, using the private sector for almost all key services—including police and fire protection, social welfare and public works. Phoenix, Arizona, has saved millions of dollars by having its municipal agencies bid against outside companies for city contracts. A money-losing teaching hospital that the city of Louisville, Kentucky, turned over to a private company in 1983 is not only making money now but also providing better patient care.

Privatization, in short, has meant more efficiency and lower costs—and, usually, better service. And if it involves the sale of an asset, the government gets a whopping one-time capital gain as well. So why has privatization been so long in coming? Fact is, it's been around for some time. Privatization is just a modern-day buzzword for an old, old philosophy. Adam Smith called it the free market. We call it a pretty good deal all around.

Mobil



Claiming victory, Corazon Aquino addresses supporters at Makati city hall.

James Hamilton

LETTER FROM MANILA

How the press helped to dump a despot

by DAVID HAWARD BAIN

The Christmas decorations were still hanging over Roxas Boulevard on the third Monday in January when I arrived in Manila. The festivity in the air was nearly as palpable as the capital's omnipresent smog, but not because of leftover Yuletide spirit, of course: the first meaningful presidential contest in two decades — what would become the most important

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election in the Philippines' forty-year history as an independent republic — was just over two weeks away.

To enter the Philippines after being away for four years was to find a country transformed. I had left a nation of fearful, even apathetic people who were sinking deeper into squalor as the Marcos regime basked in unimaginable splendor while the democratic opposition struggled mostly with itself, and more people took to the hills. The assassination of the president's chief rival in August 1983 had altered the odds. By January 1986 it seemed that a greater miracle than oppositionists uniting under one banner, or macho Philippine politicians falling in step behind a quiet, self-described

"housewife," was the sense among ordinary citizens that, this time, their participation *mattered*.

One saw that reflected in the people's fervent news-hunger, for one result of Senator Benigno Aquino's murder was the resurrection of the oppositionist press, and even a re-awakening (of sorts) of the pro-Marcos, so-called crony press. Buying daily newspapers by the armful was to become a near-religious preoccupation during that electoral month — that and tuning into what passed for news broadcasts on television and radio.

One paper that I picked up — the *Daily Express* — immediately made me feel somewhat less than welcome. Teodoro "Doroy" Valencia, the caustic septuagenarian columnist whose defenses of Marcos could wither a critic at forty paces, turned his gaze on the growing ranks of foreign journalists. "They invent all sorts of stories," Valencia wrote, "that give them their daily bread but smear us all over the world. . . . Even a drop of blood from a superficial wound would amount to a spectacular 'scoop' for news-starved correspondents who imagine they are on a death watch." Jesus Sison, Doroy's fellow columnist on the *Daily Express*, continued the theme: "Being assigned to the Philippines is like being assigned to paradise," he wrote. "They



Buying daily papers became a near-religious preoccupation.

are accorded the hospitable and friendly treatment they don't get in other countries that they have assailed and marked for abuse. They can buy more goods with their money . . . [and] they move around freely like VIPs without any fear of being harmed." A few columns away, Filosofo Tasio, a febrile pundit who, like his colleagues, used nationalism as a club to bash anyone with whom he disagreed, urged that all foreign observers — press, human-rights activists,

Tipping the balance against a tyrant

The courage and the essential goodness of Corazon Aquino was so impressive in her battle against enormous odds. And the bravery of her followers — many of whom were killed as they pursued their belief in a true democracy. That could not be defeated by all the king's horses and all the king's men. And then there was this: the role of the press, print and electronic. Through television cameras and newspapers, the whole world was watching. President Marcos could lie and cheat, but in the end he could not hide.

Tom Brokaw, *NBC Nightly News*

I think the concentration by the media on the election — the opportunity the American people had to see it on TV and read about it in the papers — stirred up interest throughout the country in what happened there.

Senator Richard G. Lugar

Let's hear it for saturation journalism.

Ron Powers, *CBS News Sunday Morning*

According to the media-watch newsletter *Issues Management*, in the four-week election period some 180 minutes of Philippine news appeared on the three evening network news programs. (This compares to an average of fewer than three Philippine stories *per year* between 1972 and 1981 — the period of martial law.) The print media might show a similarly dramatic increase in coverage, if eventually tabulated.

The campaign period was a textbook case of how pack journalism can serve a civic purpose. The close scrutiny of the press alerted the world to the Philippine crisis (especially the American public, whose indignation was felt in Congress, and belatedly, in the White House). But if that battalion of observers helped to tip the balance against a tyrant, a much more significant role was played by a much smaller

group of reporters and their dogged pursuit of two major stories — Marcos's "hidden wealth," and Marcos's war record.

The pursuit began in late January 1985 with a memo from Lewis M. Simons, the Tokyo-based correspondent for the *San Jose Mercury News*. He told his desk editor, Jonathan Krim, that he had heard persistent rumors about Philippine "capital flight" that involved not only prominent officials and friends of the First Family but also Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos themselves. He urged Krim to look into Philippine investments in the San Francisco Bay area, and provided a list of names.

Stories about what became known as "hidden wealth" had been circulating for some time. Eduardo Lachica had created a flurry of interest with a December 1982 article in *The Asian Wall Street Journal* on alleged Marcos property holdings in New York. Those familiar with the Filipino exile community then began to hear an increasing number of rumors about stashed cash or properties held by holding companies. But usually they were unsubstantiated. The *Journal* article, however, was among the clips and miscellaneous exiles' letters to the *Mercury News* handed by Krim to investigative reporter Pete Carey with a note: "Look into this."

Carey's earlier work had included probes into the aerospace industry and Silicon Valley, and into a Hell's Angels drug-money laundering operation. "The Philippines was a totally new subject to me," he recalls, "and as I started making calls it got really depressing. Someone would say, 'Oh yeah, that bank is owned by the First Lady,' and I'd

and poll watchers like Senator Richard Lugar — be tested for possible contamination by AIDS.

A foreigner being criticized by this trio could, no doubt, strike a pose of injured innocence. After all, President Marcos had accorded the Western media a special status and significance, beginning with his decision to announce the election on David Brinkley's ABC show *This Week* on November 3. By election time he would have appeared on ABC's *Good Morning America* and *Nightline*, NBC's *Meet the Press* and *Today*, CBS's *Morning News* and *Face the Nation*, PBS's *MacNeill/Lehrer NewsHour* and John McLaughlin's *One on One*, CNN's *Crossfire*, and National Public Radio's *Morning Edition*. Since Marcos himself invited the foreign press to witness the contest, he, his spokesmen, and the Filipino journalists who indignantly echoed them should not have been surprised when the guests on their national doorstep reached battalion strength: on January 23rd the Office of Media Affairs had registered 320; on February 2nd, over 500; on the 5th, some 700; and on election morning, the 7th, 850. "And there must be another hundred and fifty out there," said one besieged registrar, "who didn't bother to pick up their credentials."

It certainly seemed to be getting crowded as the days

passed. In the public rooms of the state-owned Manila Hotel, throngs of fair-skinned, epaulet-shirted money-converters downed record amounts of scrambled eggs in the mornings and bottled beer at night, chewing over tidbits of information before washing them down with gossip, Manila's most plentiful product.

In the best of times, that deluxe hotel considered a 50 percent occupancy to be doing rather fine; the election provided a windfall. By election day, counting wheeled-in trundle beds, the Manila Hotel population rose to 102 percent. If, in the end, the Marcos government erred by calling for the election, to make its Manila Hotel media central represented the height of shrewd calculation from the point of view of foreign exchange. In addition to the residential rooms, the restaurant and bar bills, the dry cleaning of hundreds of Banana Republic shirts, there were the daily telexes, the direct telephone lines, the satellite feeds, the suites rented as offices by the bigger outfits. Three American networks were spending tens of thousands of dollars a day. CBS led with its penthouse triplex presidential suite, complete with private indoor pool. NBC and ABC settled for duplex suites adjoining the former apartment of General MacArthur, which gave them access to the private elevator

say, 'Good, give me the evidence,' but they didn't have the evidence." He began taking his files home at night and using his personal computer and a telephone modem to follow a paper trail. "I hate to divulge my methods," he confesses, "but without those real-estate data bases, which allowed me to rummage through both California and out-of-state records, I would have gotten nowhere."

Carey says that his other method of tracking the story evolved during his many interviews with Filipinos in the U.S. Many of these were members of the exiled opposition who had a vested interest in helping him; others were apolitical and feared reprisals if they spoke. "I kept telling them, 'I'm not interested in quoting people, I'm not going to use yours or any names. I'm interested in *documentary evidence*,'" Carey says. "That convinced people I meant business, and started opening doors."

During his frequent trips to Manila to cover the assassination trial of General Fabian Ver and twenty-five co-defendants, Tokyo-based correspondent Simons chased down leads and sent new ones to California. Following the paper trail across California and, ultimately, to New York, Carey was only slightly constrained by budgetary considerations since he could explore records in New York and Chicago by telephone. During a trip to New York, he uncovered a tantalizing connection between a pair of real estate speculators and Marcos, the full story of which would be taken up by later investigators.

Carey had been borrowed from the paper's metro desk for the project, and after some initial work another reporter, Katherine Ellison, borrowed from the San Francisco bureau, joined him. "She's a great investigative reporter," says Krim, and Carey adds that "there were a bunch of local



Candidate Doy Laurel seizes on hidden-wealth issue.

Reuters/Bettmann

people who wouldn't open up to me, but Kathy refused to be put off and charmed some crucial information out of them."

When it ran under the by-lines of Carey, Ellison, and Simons on June 23-25, 1985, the *Mercury News* series struck like a bombshell. Step-by-step, naming names and providing evidence, it showed how top Filipinos had invested millions in the U.S., not always legally; why real estate conditions made California such prime investment territory; and how capital flight was fueling the Philippine insurgency. Not a few old Philippine hands working for the biggest dailies were irked when the *Mercury News* broke the story.

Reaction in the Philippines was swift. *Malaya*, *Business Day*, *Veritas*, and *Mr. and Ms.* all reprinted or excerpted

continued

that lay a few paces beyond the front-entrance body searches. Spilled-over journalists were automatically directed to the Manila Hilton, where the Office of Media Affairs maintained its campaign headquarters.

Outnumbered as it was, the Filipino press corps had also swelled. "Media coverage is of prime importance in this country of fifty-four million people," wrote Efren Danao in the Catholic Church weekly *Veritas*, noting that half the population was eligible to vote. The "archipelagic character" of the Philippines (7,100 islands) "makes it hard for any candidate to cover all seventy-three provinces during the fifty-seven-day campaign period," he added. Thus the importance of the nation's broadcast network, its 233 newspapers and periodicals, to the electorate. "We Filipinos are a newspaper-loving people," my friends kept telling me. And, indeed, vendors were to be seen on nearly every street corner, hawking Manila's Tagalog and English-language dailies — the assortment ranging from sex-and-violence tabloids to more sober journals. Shortly after daybreak they would trudge to their habitual patches of dusty sidewalk and lay out their newspapers. As rush hour developed and the boulevard atmosphere turned grayish-blue from exhaust,

other newsboys — more venturesome or more desperate, perhaps — darted through traffic, headlines running up their arms: GOV'T REVAMP ON ALL LEVELS SET BY MARCOS . . . FM'S SECRET \$ FLIGHT . . . TOP PC OFFICER QUILTS, JOINS CORY . . . MARCOS CUTS GAS, OTHER OIL PRICES. A Filipino friend said that since the Liberation in 1945 he could remember only one time when his countrymen were as consumed with news hunger. "It was in September seventy-two," he said. "Just before Marcos lowered the boom and declared martial law."

The alternative press: years of living dangerously

Every journalist in the "alternative press" has a story about martial law, when newspapers and broadcast stations were shut down, confiscated, and reopened under Marcos "crony" management. If a journalist wasn't jailed, the person in the next cubicle was. Even employees too young to be working between 1972 and 1981 — the most blatant years of martial law, before it was publicly lifted but tacitly left in place — will proudly relate stories of how their editors and publishers were locked up and often financially ruined.

After January 1981, when civilian control was supposedly restored, journalists still found themselves "invited" to military interrogations. Repressive decrees still prescribed the

Tippling the balance *continued*

the series. Protesters took to the streets, the opposition minority in the National Assembly attempted to open an impeachment hearing (which was swiftly quashed), and Marcos was forced to order an "impartial inquiry" (which did not go far).

The three *Mercury News* investigators were surprised at the international clamor caused by their pieces, but Carey has since analyzed what happened. "There's a vast difference between simple allegations and something with a factual, documentary basis," he says. "It provokes a totally different psychological reaction in the readers. Gossip stirs their apathy; facts galvanize them to action."

The story gathered impetus in August when ABC's 20/20 ran a segment on hidden wealth. By then other investigators, in lower Manhattan, were uncovering pivotal evidence that linked prime New York property worth hundreds of millions of dollars to the Marcoses through two entrepreneurs. *Village Voice* reporters William Bastone and Joe Conason produced a lengthy exposé on October 15 that, in Carey's words, "really fanned the flames." The exile community, with access to a plethora of information, much of it in bits and pieces that by themselves made little sense, was by then assisting wholeheartedly. "Conason and Bastone chased down stuff I'd heard only hints about, and came across some legal documents that undeniably tied the property to Marcos," says Carey. Meanwhile, the San Jose team had produced new articles on, among other things, how the Manila power elite were smuggling illegally obtained fortunes, in the form of American currency, out of the Philippines.

The *Voice* story attracted the notice of Representative Stephen Solarz of Brooklyn, who chairs the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs and who was already known to be a thorn in Marcos's side. Before long he announced that his committee would conduct hearings on the matter. Meanwhile, reporters for *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times* were developing other angles. Most significant were those uncovered by the *Times*'s Jeff Gerth. His articles, beginning in November, focused on the misuse of American aid money — completing the circle and dramatically raising temperatures in Congress.

The heat was on Marcos, whose denials ultimately came to naught. His support in Congress quickly disappeared, and with Republican senators who had been staunch Marcos supporters warning that his misrule endangered American military interests, the pressure that began with a memo from Tokyo to San Jose forced him to call for the snap election on February 7.

Revelations of Marcos's hidden wealth torpedoed him in the U.S. In the Philippines it was the truth about his war record that did him in. The deciding blow came from a story researched by a history professor, Alfred McCoy, and shared with American reporters who verified it and published their own versions.

The Yale-trained historian, author of *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, had been at work on a book about the Philippines during the Second World War but had been sidetracked by information about Marcos's wartime service. It was in the summer of 1985, while working in the National Archives in Washington, that he came across "the smoking

death penalty for broadly defined "sedition" and "scurrilous libels," and life imprisonment or death for permitting a media facility to report "destabilizing" or "disloyal" news. And, in keeping with worldwide trends, a new weapon against a free press was found in the civil courts with multimillion-peso libel suits brought by friends of the government. An important instance occurred in late 1982, following the publication of an article in *We Forum*. It charged that President Marcos had not earned most of the medals he claimed to have won during World War Two. In reply, Marcos briefly shut down the paper and jailed the writers and editors, who regained their freedom only to face a forty-million-peso suit for libel. They refused to be silenced and responded by reviving a sister publication, *Malaya*, which continued the attack.

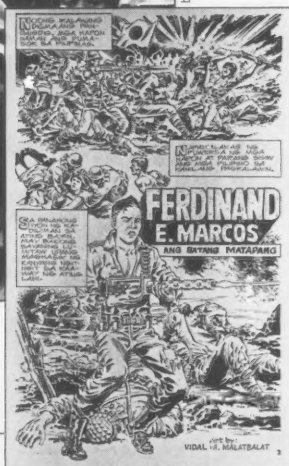
Even as the use of libel as a repressive tool grew alarmingly in subsequent years, journalists faced a still greater peril. "I am not fearful of the civil suits," said *Veritas* editor Felix Bautista shortly after my arrival. "It is the nighttime knock on the door. Since the election was announced, my wife has been on her knees day and night, praying for me." A recent study by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights reported that at least a dozen journalists were murdered in 1985 alone, with numerous threats made

against the lives of others. Since 1976, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists, there had been twenty-five deaths and one disappearance — in both the "crony" and "opposition" press.

By election time the papers' respective "personalities" had developed to such a degree that it did seem necessary to buy them all. Jose Burgos's daily *Malaya* and weekly *We Forum* led the group by dint of longevity and resistance to years of official pressure. Eugenia Apostol's *Mr. and Ms.*, originally a soft-focus cultural weekly, had ventured onto more political ground. *Veritas*, conceived by the Catholic Church in February 1983 and launched soon after the Aquino assassination, appeared under the editorship of Felix Bautista, former journalism dean at the University of Santo Tomas and widely regarded as an unofficial spokesman for Archbishop Jaime Cardinal Sin. (Throughout the country, the newspaper's namesake, Radio Veritas, was the most widely listened to and credible source of news.) In addition, two new entrants had appeared under the direction of veteran newsmen. The *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, launched by publisher Maximo Soliven shortly after the election announcement, had seen its circulation rise to 100,000 in fifty-five days. ("The cronies' major organ, *Bulletin Today*, lost twenty-thousand in circulation the week we appeared," re-



Harvey Soltes/Seattle Times
below: Susan Meiselas/Magnum



In the Philippines it was revelations about Marcos's war record, glorified in comic books, that did him in.

file." He was "stunned," he later told reporters. Official army documents declassified some twenty-five years before but never released proved that most of the Philippine leader's war record — a series of Herculean exploits against the Japanese that Marcos used to catapult himself into postwar national politics, and ultimately, into Malacanang Palace — was fraudulent.

For half a year McCoy continued his research, ultimately producing an extremely well-written and minutely detailed article that read like a detective story. He arranged to have it published in *The National Times* of Australia (McCoy teaches in Australia) and in *Veritas*. And McCoy displayed a fine sense of political timing when in mid-January, as the Philippine election campaign moved toward its conclusion, he shared his findings with reporters from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*.

On Friday, January 24, the headlines hit the streets in Manila: MARCOS FAKE HERO, US ARMY CONCLUDES, blared *Malaya*, GUERRILLA EXPLOITS 'ABSURD, DISTORTED.' Associated Press reports and the *Times* article on McCoy's findings were reprinted and repeated around the capital and out in the countryside. Meanwhile, *Veritas* issued an extra: THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT MARCOS' WAR RECORD, a reprint of McCoy's article.

After weeks of putting his opponent on the defensive, Ferdinand Marcos found himself in that position — and far more vulnerable to attack than the "mere housewife" he had felt it "embarrassing" to run against. D.H.B.

Note: In April, the San Jose Mercury News's investigative team received a George Polk Memorial Award and a Pulitzer Prize for its coverage of the hidden-wealth story.



Susan Meselas/Magnum

Reporters found that in many ways the candidates were larger than life. Surprises developed as Aquino grew into presidential stature while the Marcoses seemed to shrink before the world's eyes.

calls Luis Beltran, editor of the *Inquirer*.) And *The Manila Times*, considered the nation's best paper until it was shut down in September 1972, reappeared. The *Times* was edited by Joaquin "Titong" Roces, who promised (as had the *Inquirer*) a balanced, nonpartisan newspaper, something of a rarity in the country.

The crony press: following 'directives,' getting rich on 'guidelines'

During this season, balance was hardly attainable even for the two newcomers. "In this snap election, the neutrality zone is all but squeezed out," wrote Oliver Flores in *Manila's* premier crony paper, *Bulletin Today*. "Media people, no matter how hard some of them try to sound objective, have identified themselves one way or the other." Flores's columns often bore the mark of an independent mind, but his meager space allotment seemed a constant reminder of his tenuous grip on his job. Other columnists given twice the space — Adrian Cristobal and Gualberto Lumauig — fulminated against oppositionists and, lately, Americans, with no acknowledgment in the *Bulletin* that they were on the government payroll as full-time Marcos spokesmen. Such ties were indicative of how the pro-Marcos press de-

veloped — in several instances, facilities had been seized from rightful owners in 1972 and given to cronies — and how they operated. Ostensibly, *Bulletin Today* was owned by Apolonio Batalla, who had taken over in 1984 when the paper's longtime publisher, Hans Menzi, died, but veteran press observers maintain that the three Marcos children were its actual owners. The four other major crony papers had similarly interesting connections to the Palace — if not family ties, then the Marcos brand of *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) that formed bonds as close as blood, especially when there were fortunes to be made.

Throughout January, as the campaign rhetoric heated up, opposition complaints that its side was being ignored by the pro-Marcos media were swallowed up in denials and obfuscation, but the evidence was there for anyone to see — or, rather, *not* see, when viewing the day's papers spread along a sidewalk. Aquino stories may as well not have existed, being consistently played below the front-page fold, their three or four column inches literally overwhelmed by a number of well-illustrated Marcos stories. An independent organization, surveying three days of newspaper coverage of the five leading pro-Marcos dailies, found 667 front-page column inches devoted to the president as opposed to 97 column inches about Aquino. (In two opposition dailies, the same period showed 341 front-page column inches for Aquino, 134 for Marcos: still an imbalance, but somewhat less egregious.) After a drawn-out battle to buy advertising space, the UNIDO/LABAN party saw its ad placed beside advertisements for a hemorrhoid remedy and a book called *The Tongues of Satan*, or found it enveloped by pitches for the KBL or "public service" ads touting the administration's rural electrification and health care programs.

The situation on television was worse. The government-owned channel, MBS-4, in the period between December 11 and January 7, devoted twenty-six hours to KBL rallies, zero hours to opposition rallies. Aquino coverage on MBS-4 and the capital's commercial stations improved incrementally in later weeks, but only after a lawsuit. And, up to the end, personnel were forbidden to show pictures of crowds at Aquino rallies or to estimate their size. In early January, Tina Monzon-Palma, news director of the commercial TV station GMA-7, was relieved of her post for failing to heed "directives" from the Palace and providing too much Aquino coverage.

An insider present at a Palace luncheon before the 1984 National Assembly election described to me not only the directives but also something called "guidelines." "Two dozen editors and senior staff writers of the *Bulletin*, the *Express*, the *Times-Journal*, and a few others, were invited by the First Lady to preview campaign jingles," he recalled. "Most clapped along. At the close we formed a line, each passing in turn into an anteroom where Imelda Marcos awaited with a military aide, who handed her envelopes — 'Guidelines.' Inside was from twenty thousand to fifty thousand pesos, depending on our importance. The whole world's corrupt, a few of us reasoned later. Why not take advantage of it?"

With reporters making between 1,500 and 3,500 pesos per month (\$75-\$175) and news executives of the crony

press taking home princely sums, the temptation to go along was terrific. Maximo Soliven, the maverick publisher of the *Daily Inquirer*, charged on January 22 that a ten million peso media fund had been activated. His palace informant told him that the fund might increase to eighty million, and that a few crony editors had been offered a million apiece. Elsewhere, *Malaya* reported that ranking personnel of government radio stations had received "Christmas gifts" of 5,000 pesos, followed a month later by 1,000 pesos and a promise of another 1,500 pesos just prior to the election. The money was allegedly taken by the Office of Media Affairs from a fund earmarked for long-overdue wage increases for lower-echelon radio personnel. "Sure," Soliven said tolerantly, "there are a number of journalists who eagerly await those 'guidelines' in fat envelopes . . . but most others are in there, making the best of a tough situation, fighting the good fight."

meanwhile, beneficiaries of Marcos's "encouragement," whether financial or otherwise, regarded the oppositionist press and all foreign media with equal disdain, as if reporting facts constituted an attack against "true" Filipinos. *Daily Express* columnist Teodoro Valencia bitterly ascribed the Philippine crisis to interventionists alone. "We are the whipping boy of the U.S. press and the U.S. government," he wrote. "This must be because they have defeated nobody since World War Two. They must do it to us who have always allowed them to save their ego."

East meets West at an international media event

Marcos's great visibility on American television was said to be the centerpiece of a public relations campaign created by a conservative Washington lobbying firm, Paul Manafort Stone & Kelly, which had often worked for the G.O.P. and which had been retained in November, reportedly on the advice of a high-level Republican. To many in Manila, the KBL campaign strategy strongly echoed that of the Reagan re-election team: keep 'em on the defensive and periodically change the angle of attack. From week to week, then, Marcos and his spokesmen moved from charge to accusation: Aquino was linked to communists and her victory would create a "coalition government" with the New People's Army; Agapito "Butz" Aquino (her brother-in-law) was ready to cede the southern regions of the country to its Muslim activists; Hacienda Luisita, a sugar plantation owned by Cory's family, kept its workers in worse peonage than any of the operations run by Marcos's cronies; the fathers of Benigno Aquino and Salvador Laurel were war-time collaborators; Benigno Aquino was "a founder" of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Under the direction of Marcos's daughter Imee, who in recent years had become something of a media baroness and who functioned as her father's de facto campaign manager, a skilled p.r. group issued the KBL blasts in media handouts and produced restricted daily briefing books which were supplied to columnists and on-air broadcast personnel. According to people with social connections to the First Family, these books



Wide World

listed the anti-Aquino "line of the week" and suggested subtopics and even critical phrases that could be dropped into commentaries. After some weeks of being forced into defensive retorts and clarifications, UNIDO/LABAN strategists honed their attacks, and their candidate focused on Marcos's "twenty years of killings, repressions, hunger and poverty, cronyism, graft, and corruption," and, perhaps

more crucially, on Marcos's health, Marcos's "fake" war record, Marcos's "hidden wealth" (see sidebar).

Amidst the clamor of Marcos and Aquino appearances, certain sounds could be discerned in the press areas: a fugue of scratching ballpoints as Cory embarked on one of the alliterative passages favored by her speechwriters ("... how he and his misguided minions have prostituted professionalism in the military"); a chorus of clicks when tape recorders were shut off as Marcos drifted into statistics and ornate lawyerly explanations; a tremolo of groans as Doy Laurel launched into his oft-repeated crowd warm-up that graded cheers like term papers ("Eighty-two percent! Let's try for ninety!"); and, beneath all, the continuo of sniffles from journalists plagued by colds and sinusitis from air conditioning and unhealthy living.

For the most part, relations between foreign and local press contingents were harmonious, though I saw only limited social contact despite their common acquaintance with the English language and with Western customs. Coverage of the campaign was not, however, without its embarrassing post-colonial overtones, infrequent as they might have been and involving as they did only a minority of the visitors. One steel-elbowed *Time* photographer was repeatedly observed using his superior height and weight against Filipinos, in one case sending a small university student (deputized in a rally's security detail) flying when he attempted to move the phalanx of photographers back from candidate Aquino. More alarming than this or other similar incidents was an occurrence during the funeral for the slain former governor Evelio Javier at Manila's Baclaran Church. The press, admitted to a second-floor balcony overlooking the funeral bier, jostled for positions as the liturgy commenced. Abruptly, a bearded ABC cameraman whose physique resembled that of Sylvester Stallone turned and shoved a Filipino photographer some five yards with one motion, prompting the photographer to advance upon his assailant, kicking and swinging his camera bag. "Don't push a Filipino, man!" he said, as onlookers separated the pair, reminding them that a mass was in progress. "I'd watch my back if I were him," someone muttered of the ABC cameraman, whom others had previously seen exerting muscle against Filipino colleagues.

Although one heard stories from the local press corps of other so-called "Rambos," such incidents were blessedly rare. The complaints mostly concerned favoritism as the Westerners were often given preferential treatment in transportation and billeting (a few times local reporters were ordered off vehicles or Aquino rally stages until it was discovered that they were stringing for a Western media entity, at which time they were readmitted). Other sore spots involved cultural insensitivity or simple lack of preparation. Ninotchka Rosca, writing in the *Manila Times*, ruefully meditated on how the previously neglected Philippine crisis had suddenly become an international media event, with "parachute" journalists commanding large budgets. Elsewhere, she wisecracked about Americans who needed to be told who the opposition candidates were or required (even late in the campaign) translations of the most common, oft-repeated campaign slogans. Vic Agustin, a reporter for 'the



Through the eyes of the media, the world saw how seriously Filipinos viewed 'the sanctity of the ballot.' Volunteers guarded ballot boxes (above) en route to Manila's city hall and displayed boxes that had been broken into by Marcos thugs (right). Some electoral tabulators, ordered to cheat, walked off their jobs and (below) spoke out.



Daily Express and later for the *Inquirer*, told me after the campaign that a *People* magazine correspondent had asked him how to spell "Philippine."

But there was the other side of the coin: the surprising number of correspondents who had read up on Philippine history, who troubled to pronounce Filipino names correctly, who understood the social forces at work during the election, who worked to develop their contacts with respect and common courtesy. It was, after all, an American reporter who interposed herself between a clamorous posse of reporters and that terrified group of government computer programmers who had courageously denounced the fraudulent tabulations. "Back off," *Washington Post* reporter Carol Bogert yelled at her colleagues, as TV lights pinned the programmers inside a microbus at the Baclaran church. "You guys get to go home after all this is over."

Final days — and last lessons

It was difficult to think about things like eating and sleeping in the final campaign week; too much was happening, with both Marcos and Aquino warning that civil war would follow their opponent's victory. Aquino was, in the incumbent's words, "a snake in the Garden of Eden, an oligarch and an exorcist" with "communist links" and "with pinkos for advisers." In a Malacanang press conference, Marcos vowed to "wipe out" oppositionists, both clergy and laity, after he won. "Stop warning the people," Aquino replied, during a campaign swing through Batangas province, "as they can no longer be threatened."

The week had been full of alarms, causing a slight jumpiness even among some veteran correspondents as every event assumed an ominous cast: the closing of the schools, the rumors in the crony press that "terror squads" of the insurgent New People's Army had entered the capital, the rumors in the alternative press that the militia had not disarmed as ordered, the reports that election returns were already being doctored in a Marcos-sponsored university and in several five-star-hotel suites, the tales of the government forging billions of pesos to finance *hakot* (bribery) on a cosmic scale. Both sides were claiming victory in advance. Election-related deaths had passed forty. The Commission on Elections (Comelec) deputized army chief and Marcos crony General Fabian Ver and the entire military. Leaders of the NPA and the Moro National Liberation Front vowed that a Marcos victory would provoke all-out war. Every air carrier reported full bookings from election day through the next week. The government-owned Philippine Airlines took out full-page ads announcing that its reservations offices would be open on Friday (election day), Saturday, and Sunday "to serve you." Rumors flew as thick and fast as the forktailed swifts outside the Manila Hotel, exasperating even reporters experienced in Philippine affairs. With several hundred media latecomers turning campaign sorties into bedlam and clogging the daily briefings with questions that had been addressed weeks before, many wondered if the press corps had grown past the point of usefulness, even survival — like an overpopulated island of goats. *continued*



Reuters/Bettmann

At Manila polls, KBL thugs attack a photographer.

Open season on journalists

Covering the Philippine elections was not without its hazards, as was self-evident in a nation which, under Marcos, had developed a disturbing campaign of violence and jailings directed against every segment of society, with the media no exception. Since 1979 some twenty-five deaths in the Philippine media (nearly half in 1985) were registered. Over 100 citizens were killed in the two-month campaign, but the local and foreign press — an unprecedented number, perhaps 1,500 in all — finished their stories alive and sobered, though, in some cases, injured:

- Manila, February 2: Reza Deghati of *Paris Match*, not moving fast enough outside a Manila Hotel luncheon for Marcos, is dragged by security guards into a kitchen and severely beaten.
- Concepcion, Tarlac Province, February 4: Eight constabulary soldiers fire shots at opposition campaigners including Benigno Aquino's sister, Lupita Kashiwaha (on leave from an American TV news outfit to serve as the opposition's media director). Soldiers then fire at a media group including *Philippine Daily Inquirer* photographers, an Agence France Press reporter, and an NBC-TV news team, whose equipment is confiscated and destroyed.
- Concepcion, Tarlac Province, February 7: Eight masked men wearing KBL campaign paraphernalia (who have been caught stuffing ballot boxes) open fire on a group of photographers — including Michael Williamson (*Sacramento Bee*), Al Podgorski (*Chicago Sun-Times*), Jan Sonnemair (*Dallas Morning News*), and Piers Cavendish (*U.S. News & World Report*), who as they flee lose \$3,000 worth of cameras to their assailants.
- Makati, Metro Manila, February 7: Photographer Ed Galvez (*Veritas*) is beaten by thugs, while outside nearby Fort Bonifacio, the headquarters of General Fabian Ver, Pete Reyes of *Malaya* is beaten up after trailing stolen ballot boxes from a Makati polling precinct.
- Concepcion, Tarlac Province, February 7: *Malaya* reporter Benjie Guevarra is arrested along with thirty poll-watchers in an apparently random roundup following a shoving match between observers and KBL strongmen. Probably because of his connection to the outspoken daily, Guevarra is charged with "frustrated murder," detained incommunicado for forty-eight hours, and finally released on 10,000 pesos bail.
- Canlubang, Laguna Province, February 7: Local KBL assemblyman attempts to assault Joe Conason of *The Village Voice* after the reporter asks why the civilian politician was attired earlier that day in a colonel's uniform. Onlookers prevent the assault.
- Makati, Metro Manila, February 9: Abby Tan of *The Washington Post* is slightly injured when grazed by a Mercedes limousine attempting to drive through a crowd of poll watchers, who are preventing the limo's occupants from smuggling fake ballots into a municipal hall.

D.H.B.

Election day arrived, and as I bought my newspapers outside the Hilton an olive-drab truck filled with soldiers and automatic weapons rumbled down Maria Orosa Street. Otherwise there was little of the usual early-morning traffic, and few pedestrians. I decided to base myself in the cavernous, domed gymnasium at LaSalle University where the citizens' electoral watchdog arm, Namfrel, had placed its poll-tracking computers and blackboards. Under the direction of Jose Concepcion, Jr., a businessman prominent in the lay Catholic hierarchy, 500,000 Namfrel volunteers were to gather results from 1,600 municipalities nationwide. An agreement hammered out at the last minute with the official Comelec provided for collection of returns at 300 district centers, transmission by wire or messenger to Manila, and final, separate tabulations at LaSalle and at the Comelec on the far side of town. The effort, fraught with mutual distrust, would be hampered by misunderstandings and snafus, and by furious KBL Party tirades. "Namfrel is rabidly anti-Marcos," charged palace spokesman J. V. Cruz, "a diabolical and extremely dangerous plot." Gangs of rowdies, members of a "youth group" under the direction of the ubiquitous Imee Marcos, had hectoring Namfrel's chairman for many days. Now they milled outside the university walls, making extraordinary security precautions necessary. Far from being diabolical, on that day the Namfrel headquarters was the moral center of the Philippines.

Two and a half weeks earlier, too many of my press colleagues had betrayed a cynicism in their intellectual, emotional, and social distance from the people whose fate they were recording, a cynicism that had blurred crucial differences between cronies and oppositionists, to the point of dismissing this desperate country as a nation of hustlers — Filipinos mooching a meal, hustling a point of view. Two and a half weeks of witnessing the bald-faced manipulation of institutions and the corruption foisted upon those too helpless to resist, two and a half weeks of watching the opposition candidate grow into the mantle of leadership thrust upon her and seeing the light of hope shining in the faces of her followers — two and a half weeks bestowed a

powerful education upon the corps. The last lesson, the final exam, happened at the polls, in the clinics, in the churches, and in the streets.

Increasingly in past days I had taken part in or overheard discussions within the corps about the role of the press in this election — what constituted "neutrality" and "objectivity," the age-old debate about whether either is humanly possible, particularly in the face of tyranny unlike anything experienced at home. When a cleric addressed an Aquino rally three days before the election he seemed to be posing an eleventh-hour question over the heads of rallygoers, directly to foreign observers. "How," he asked, "can you say you're nonpartisan in issues of morality?" Many in the corps thought of him during that day, as bulletins crackled over the gymnasium speakers calling for journalists and Namfrel volunteers to rush to one trouble spot after another. Looking at a weeping nun and a student with dark bruises on his face whose attempts to "safeguard the sanctity of the ballot" had been foiled by thugs with clubs and armalite rifles, one did not have to search for an answer to the question posed by that priest three days before. "Worse than South Africa, Central America, and South America — and I've been to all in the past year," said *The Orlando Sentinel's* Randy Harrison. Other first-timers in the Philippines, like Bill Buzenberg of National Public Radio, copied down reports of scores of violent acts with numb anger. "If five hundred guys get even a part of this on film," said Dick Clever of *The Seattle Times*, after watching busloads of "flying voters" engulf a polling precinct, "then the world will know what's happened here today." A thousand journalists got some of it on film or in their steno books — not everything, but enough.

The counting proceeded turgidly in the succeeding days, a procession of disappointments. Anyone with a smidgen of sanity knew that Cory Aquino had received at least 65 percent of the nation's, 85 percent of Manila's, vote. But too much money had been spent, too much muscle exerted — twenty years of the Marcos machine had culminated in that extraordinary but ultimately unsuccessful theft.

In the end, even the millions, perhaps billions, of pesos could not purchase this nation for Marcos, nor would it remain stolen, but there was no way of knowing that as I packed to leave — my own treasury depleted — feeling like a deserter. It was Valentine's Day, and Madame Marcos was depicted in the news as she selected several hundred greeting cards to give to her "friends." The media cronies had returned to business as usual.

"We're in for the long haul," Cory's advisers said.

"When will you come back?" my Filipino friends asked. "For Cory's inauguration," I replied, and we laughed. I returned home, still feeling like a deserter.

Ten days later, Marcos's soldiers disobeyed his orders to kill other Filipino soldiers and civilians who had gathered at Camps Aguinaldo and Crame. They told the president he was no longer welcome in their country. Eleven days later it was apparent that there was not even enough time to select a yellow necktie for Cory's inauguration, let alone to fly back. So I, like the rest of the world, watched it on television. In the next show, Marcos flew away. ■



Harley Soltes/Seattle Times

Cracking down on drugs

Is there a serious problem in the newsroom —
or is management overreacting?

by MICHAEL HOYT
and MARY ELLEN SCHOONMAKER

Reporters at the *Albuquerque Journal* like to tell the story of a colleague who last year got a middle-of-the-night phone call — an order from the newspaper's security staff to report to the office. Drug-sniffing dogs, it seems, were quivering and whimpering at the reporter's locked desk. Perhaps the dogs had headaches, the story goes, because the drug inside was Tylenol.

Dogs were just a prologue at the Albuquerque Publishing Company, which puts out the *Journal* and, under a joint-operating arrangement, *The Albuquerque Tribune*, a Scripps-Howard newspaper. Just after midnight on January 15 of this year production employees returning from a break heard the sound of cars roaring into the parking lot and, overhead, the thudding of helicopter blades. Thirty-nine-year-old president and publisher Tom H. Lang was staging a drug raid on his employees.

Lang's security force, working from a list of names compiled earlier by an undercover agent, lined up about two dozen employees in the hallway. These people were joined by a few others who had been working in the vicinity of a small quantity of marijuana which the canine patrol had turned up that night. One at a time the employees were accompanied to the bathroom and ordered to produce urine samples. A few days later, by which time twenty-seven people had been tested, seventeen were fired either for testing drug-positive or for refusing to take the urine test.

"It was something like you'd see on *Miami Vice*," says Keith Morlan, president of Local 53-N of the Graphic Communications International Union. "It was very humiliating."

Michael Hoyt and Mary Ellen Schoonmaker are frequent contributors to the Review. Both were formerly reporters at The Record, in Bergen County, New Jersey.

Taking care of drugs in the workplace, Morlan says, "sounds good." What he objects to is "the way they went about it. For one thing, this was a Monday night. Some of these guys were off over the weekend. What if they drank or something at a party and it was still in their system? What gives these people the right to handle your life?"

Publisher Lang's point of view is, of course, very different. "We found one truck driver who tested almost off the scale on marijuana, alcohol, and amphetamines," Lang says. "This is a guy we were going to send out on the street." He concedes that "we're getting into the privacy problem and violating certain rights," and says he is "sorry about all that. But we're just not going to have [drugs] in our organization and have somebody maimed or killed. I'm not as concerned about the newsroom — those people don't use heavy equipment — but I expect them to be responsible at work. The [drug] policy in this organization is you are not going to use it.

"Will we continue to do this? Absolutely," Lang says, "and probably in the newsroom."

Suddenly, employers everywhere seem to be cracking down on drugs, and for many reporters and editors it's not just a story about baseball players or nuclear workers but one they are right in the middle of. From the *Los Angeles Times* to the *Miami Herald*, the *New York Times* to the *Macon, Georgia, Telegraph and News*, the *San Diego Union* to the *Kansas City Star*, journalism's employers are among the leaders of the charge against employee drug abuse. Publisher Lang's paramilitary style — reporters say he requires them to wear I.D. badges, to drink their coffee from company-issue no-spill cups, and to keep the newsroom venetian blinds at a specified angle — put the

controversies that surround this trend into extra high relief. But even at the most sophisticated of these journalistic institutions there is a question that won't go away: Where does the employee's right to privacy end and an employer's right to a clearheaded workforce begin?

Analyzing workers' bodily fluids is not altogether new, even for newspapers. *The New York Times*, for example, has made a negative urine test a condition of employment since the early 1970s. But with the marketing of the cheaper and easier testing systems that became available at the beginning of the 1980s, drug testing has become the chief weapon in the war on drugs. In March, the President's Commission on Organized Crime said that drug testing throughout much of the working population deserved consideration as a way of cutting down the demand for drugs and reducing organized crime's profit margin. *Fortune* magazine estimated that the percentage of companies on its Fortune 500 list which routinely test employees and job applicants had climbed from 10 percent to 25 percent between 1982 and 1985. "Employers are facing up to the realities of drug and alcohol abuse," says Peter B. Bensinger, former head of the federal Drug Enforcement Administration. "I think they're realizing this is a saving of money and lives."

Bensinger not only predicts a rise in urine testing; he's a force behind it. His Chicago-based consulting company advises corporations on how to combat drugs and alcohol, and lately he's been advising the communications industry. Albuquerque Publishing and the Times Mirror Company have been among his clients, and new drug and alcohol policies at other newspapers seem to bear Bensinger's stamp. He advises pre-employment testing — "It sends the right signal to prospective applicants, and to all employees" — and the testing of cur-

rent employees under certain conditions, such as after an accident, after medical treatment for drug or alcohol abuse, or when a supervisor feels it necessary.

After Bensinger was asked to address its executives at a meeting last summer, Times Mirror asked all of its properties, including Long Island's *Newsday*, *The Dallas Times Herald*, and *The Hartford Courant*, to draw up new drug and alcohol policies. At a minimum, the company asked its newspapers to establish confidential employee assistance programs (and to make sure employees' health insurance covered the problems of substance abuse) and to train supervisors in handling drug and alcohol problems. Drug-testing was left optional, and so far only the *Los Angeles Times* has instituted it. "The idea is not to catch people, but to have a safe and productive workplace," says Jim Duncan, the paper's director of employee relations. At the same time, he says, "we don't want to hire people who show that they've already got some kind of a problem with drugs." The *Times*'s test allows a low level of marijuana. Despite that, and despite printed warnings about the drug-test requirement in the newspaper's employment office and medical office, Duncan says that between 10 and 15 percent of those seeking jobs with the company have failed their urine tests since the procedure started last November. Whether prospective reporters, as opposed to non-newsroom employees, have failed the test could not be learned, but, according to a *Times* insider, two prospective news interns were not hired because their urine wasn't "clean."

There has not been the same sense of urgency in television. Although Capital Cities/ABC begins a major information and referral program at ABC this May, the other networks do not seem to be following this lead. CBS and NBC make counseling available but have no testing policy; Cable News Network has no policy whatsoever. "We have no reason to have any," a CNN spokeswoman says. Group W, which is owned by Westinghouse and has five TV stations and twelve radio stations, is considering testing applicants.

One company that has been something of a pioneer in this area is Storer Communications, Inc. in Miami, which has seven TV stations and about 100 cable

systems in seventeen states. In 1984, Storer began routinely screening applicants for drug use and offered its employees a rehabilitation program that includes up to six months' paid leave, with one month at full pay. Mark Hayes, an attorney for Storer, says that no major drug problems prompted the policy. "We wanted to anticipate the problem before it occurred," Hayes says.

Are drugs a problem in the newsroom? Despite the positive drug tests in its production facilities, reporters in Albuquerque say the newsroom is "ridiculously straight." So do reporters in Miami, where eighteen production workers were fired in January 1985, some of them for drug-related activity. James Naughton, associate managing editor for news at *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, says he sees no drug problem among reporters, but he has been convinced that one exists within the company at large. Still, it is hard to believe that drug use is entirely a blue-collar phenomenon or that society's habits would bypass the newsroom altogether. Bits and pieces of evidence suggest otherwise. The *Nashville Banner* fired a sportswriter and a photographer this past January for allegedly using "controlled substances" while on assignment. In a CBS television interview in 1984 about his book *Wired*, Bob Woodward of *The Washington Post* said he had heard rumors that perhaps forty people at his newspaper use cocaine regularly (a statement he probably regrets, since the right-wing Accuracy in Media, Inc. fastened onto it like a tick). "Drug abuse is increasing, and there is no reason newspapers should be exempt," says David Eisen, director of research and information for The Newspaper Guild. "Our position generally is that it's like alcoholism — a disease. Its victims should be treated."

It's also the Guild's position that testing the urine of current employees is a matter that must be settled at the bargaining table. The union says it has less leverage over pre-employment testing. (The National Labor Relations Board, however, in a case that may be relevant to the issue, recently ruled that Seattle's Lockheed Shipbuilding and Construction Company did have to bargain with its union before implementing certain

medical tests that could be used to screen prospective employees.)

Whether an employer is able to implement drug testing remains a separate question from whether it is a good idea. There are questions about accuracy, for example. In 1983, the federal Centers for Disease Control, in a test of sixty-four drug-testing laboratories that used a popular marijuana-testing system, found a 4 percent "false-positive" ratio, the result of problems with the test itself or of clerical errors. The system's manufacturer, Syva Company of Palo Alto, recommends that positive findings be confirmed by other methods of testing — a step that, some experts say, is often skipped, partly because the backup tests are expensive. A 1985 CDC check on thirteen drug-testing labs found a 6 percent false-positive ratio for cocaine and far higher ratios for other drugs.

Even if a positive test is correct, there are still questions about what that means. The CDC notes that the marijuana test can't show whether a person is intoxicated from the drug, only that he or she used it within the last few weeks. (Cocaine leaves the system more quickly, in about two or three days, leading some critics to ask if testing might not encourage marijuana users to switch to the more dangerous but less detectable drug.) This troubles Ellen Weber, an attorney for the Legal Action Center, a nonprofit public interest law firm in New York that handles employment discrimination cases for former alcohol and drug abusers. "You may have proved that they used it off the job at some previous time," Weber says, "but if you haven't observed the person, it becomes an issue of what an employer has a right to do. Does an employer have a right to dictate private behavior?" Weber favors the tests only as an adjunct to treatment for the drug abuser. "They are not a proper tool for discipline," she says.

Some employers who have instituted urine tests contend that employee assistance programs are the true centerpieces of their programs, and that the drug-testing component is being overemphasized. "Yes, *The Miami Herald* has a pre-employment test for drugs, but that's not the complete story," says Richard G. Capen, Jr., chairman and publisher of the Miami Herald Publishing Company. "The heart of our program is education,

supervisor training, and medical assistance." Like the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Herald* offers free and confidential treatment. Capen says he is sensitive to the civil-liberties criticisms of urine testing. But, he adds, "when you have a serious problem like this, you have to deal with it. If someone is working with a press or driving a truck or a car or out on assignment and they are on drugs, that's a serious violation of my rights."

The *Herald's* new policy, which began March 1, does not affect those already on the job. Yet, among reporters, the reaction was "outrage," says Beth Dunlop, an architecture critic who chairs a management-appointed grievance group. "Most people feel it's the wrong solution to a problem that doesn't exist, at least in the newsroom. Most people feel it's a violation of civil rights." After the testing policy was announced, a couple of hundred cups of a urine-like substance appeared in the newsroom one morning lined up on a long bank of file cabinets on which sarcastic signs had been taped. A poem was posted, written to the cadence of "You're in the Army Now" and from

the perspective of a newly hired employee. "Urine the *Herald* now," it began. "You've lost your rights somehow."

"Probably half the country has tried pot," says Herbert Buchsbaum, a reporter in the newspaper's Fort Pierce bureau. "It takes such an impossible leap of logic to equate drug use with drug abuse and unemployability." "It's the principle," adds Carl Hiaasen, a *Herald* columnist. "Journalists are sensitive to civil liberties issues. Also, who knows what will happen later on? What's the difference between pre-employment testing and testing of those who are already here?"

Hiaasen and others note that Miami has been particularly sensitive to its reputation as a clearinghouse for South American drugs, to the extent that members of the Miami Citizens Against Crime, which includes top clergymen as well as business leaders, volunteered to take urine tests themselves last year. "Is there another place in the civilized world where the Catholic archbishop has to urinate into a cup to prove he's clean?" Hiaasen asked in a November 5 column.

Urine testing is not the only cause of tension in the new drive against drugs.

At the *Baltimore Sun* last year, all employees got a letter about drug and alcohol abuse in which a company spokesman stated, "We also have the right, and will exercise it, to examine without notice all Company property, including, for example, desks, lockers, and cabinets. . . ." Although management contended that this issue was not negotiable, the company proceeded to discuss it in a long exchange of letters with its unions, led by the Guild. "We had no argument with the fact that alcohol and drugs have no place in the workplace, but we questioned the methodology," says Connie Knox, who leads the Guild in Baltimore, where she is an assistant editor on the paper's Sunday magazine. "We noted that a lot of the craft union people share lockers, for example. We wanted to know who would do the searches, and would a union representative be on hand? We felt it was a violation of civil rights. My desk is company property, but I have personal things in it. I have Guild files, for example. Reporters have notes."

Knox says that, after an exchange of letters, the issue was put on a back burner, where it has remained. She be-



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believes that the company's concern was serious, and says that "maybe just by raising the issue they accomplished their objective."

Another cause of tension in newsrooms is the feeling on the part of many reporters that a harsh "crackdown" approach has no place in a business where a journalist's integrity must be trusted every day.

S
Last January, Capital Cities/ABC considered sending drug-sniffing dogs into its newsrooms as part of a test of a stricter anti-drug policy. There were to be three test sites, including *The Kansas City Star* and *The Kansas City Times* in Missouri, Fairchild Publications in New York, and the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* in Texas. Capital Cities executives cited the cocaine-related death of one employee in 1984 as a reason for stepping up their program.

The reporters in Missouri learned of the plan in a memo from publisher James H. Hale. The image of dogs nosing around the newsroom seemed funny at first, says Marquis Shepherd, a reporter on *The Kansas City Times's* metro staff. "When the memo was read in a staff meeting, people started laughing. Then we realized it wasn't that funny."

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In fact, many reporters were confused and offended. For one thing, the memo acknowledged that there had not been any breach of the company's drug policy in two years. "No one knows of anyone who has had any sort of drug problem," Shepherd says. For another, some reporters felt it went beyond a simple violation of privacy. "It speaks volumes about their general trust for our professionalism," says Lynn Byczynski, education reporter for the *Times*. "We work closely enough with our supervisors that if someone is on drugs, an editor would probably know it and could handle it on a professional basis. This kind of blanket act gives the community a reason to believe that all reporters are drug users."

The dogs quickly became the subject of all kinds of jokes. Dog biscuits dangled from the newsroom ceiling, and publisher Hale began to receive packages of dog droppings in the mail. In addition, some reporters signed a protest petition. But in the wake of nationwide publicity, and before the petition could be sent to management, Hale changed

his mind. He said no drug searches would be conducted on the papers' properties until there had been more consultation between management and employees.

"I was never in love with the idea of dogs," says Michael Waller, former editor and vice-president of the Kansas City papers and now executive editor and vice-president of *The Hartford Courant*. Bringing them in is "a highly emotional issue," he says. It's more important, he believes, to help individual employees with problems "so they can come back as productive workers, rather than get rid of them. . . . The relationship between a reporter and an editor is based on a bond of trust." It should be left alone, Waller says, "until there is reason to suspect it."

Meanwhile, Capital Cities/ABC has gone ahead with an information program, hanging posters around offices, sending brochures on drug addiction to every employee's home, setting up a hot line, and offering medical assistance and counseling. John C. Peterson, executive editor of Capital Cities' Shore Line Newspapers in Connecticut, says, "Within the first six weeks, twenty-five employees have come forward for treatment under the new program."

Publishers seem to arrive at the decision to do something about drug abuse for a variety of reasons: some are moved to act by specific incidents or observations; others, apparently, are borne along on the crest of a powerful trend. Edmund Olson, publisher of the *Macon Telegraph and News*, says that he added drug tests to the newspaper's pre-employment physicals last year after hearing from the doctor who does the physicals that such tests were available. "No," he adds, "we didn't perceive a drug problem here." At the Union-Tribune Publishing Company, which puts out *The San Diego Union* and *The Tribune*, employee relations director Oliver B. Peter says that management just thought urine testing "was a good thing to have. Every employer has a drug problem. It was a good screening tool."

At Philadelphia Newspapers Inc., which publishes *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Philadelphia Daily News*, president Sam McKeel took a less au-

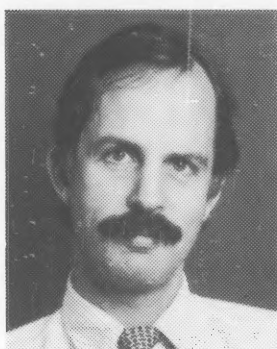
tocratic approach. He wrote a letter to all employees saying that the company's accident rate was higher than average for the industry and its absenteeism rate twice as high as the average in the company's region. Part of that problem, McKeel said, must be due to drugs and alcohol, and he set up a management/employee task force to come up with a program. Senior vice-president and general counsel James Artz, whom McKeel appointed to head the task force, says the company wants "to try a positive approach. We'd love to develop a program that avoids all of that — testing, locker searches, and so forth. Whether we can or not, I don't know. We haven't got to that point yet."

It may be difficult to obtain, but a perspective the task force would benefit from is one that has been largely ignored in the national debate over this new employers' offensive against chemical abuse — the perspective of the employee with a drug problem.

A south Florida broadcast journalist, for example, who until recently was strongly addicted to cocaine, contends that the best thing employers can do is set up a good, confidential employee assistance program, one that makes it easier for a worker to "go in on his own steam." If his employer had had such a program, the journalist, who was working at a "reduced capacity" but getting by, would have sought help earlier.

"I was embarrassed and ashamed to have to talk to somebody about it," the journalist says. "But I just didn't care anymore. I had a totally unmanageable life and I couldn't do a goddamn thing about it. I went to my boss and said, 'You may fire me for this, but I need your help.' They paid for four weeks in a hospital, with salary, and I kept my job. It saved my life, or what I value in my life."

The television journalist had picked up his habit while working in the world of print. "I can't remember a moment of joy or pleasure from it. I would be in the middle of work or anything else and I'd have this incredible urge to go get some cocaine, and I would." Yet the addiction allowed quite long grace periods without the drug, and that's one reason the journalist argues against testing employees' urine. "I would have beat the test," he says. ■



Arthur W. Howe
Pulitzer Prize
National Reporting



Tom Gralish
Pulitzer Prize
Feature Photography

TWO PROUD

For the second year in a row, *Inquirer* staffers have been awarded two coveted Pulitzer Prizes.

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NOT THE LOS ANGELES TIMES

Who dares to challenge the giant?
A report from the kingdom of the freeways

by RICHARD REINHARDT

Outside the Thrifty Drug at Sixth Street and Pine Avenue, just across from the offices of the *Press-Telegram* in downtown Long Beach, California, a gray-haired man in blue jeans and a pea-coat is sizing up the headlines of the day.

It is a time-consuming task to study the adventures of the wayward world through the murky peepholes of fifteen waist-high metal boxes, and the man is giving it his full attention. He scrutinizes the *Singles Register*, the blushing, blue-and-crimson face of *USA Today*, and three containers stuffed with fresh copies of a tabloid specializing in what is known as the "uncoverage of Hollywood." He contemplates the *Community Rental Bulletin*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the biweekly *Impulse*. He bobs like a feeding bird above the folded pages of *The Orange County Register*, the *South Bay Daily Breeze*, the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *The New York Times*. At last, unaware that he has become a statistic in a circulation war, he drops a coin in the second of two boxes reserved for the hometown daily, clamps his copy under his arm, and takes off in the direction of the ocean.

Most southern Californians, like the selective reader on Pine Avenue, would be surprised to know that there is, indeed, a circulation war, a Darwinian struggle for survival among competing newspapers in the great Los Angeles megalopolis. For decades it has been assumed that this megalopolis, as large as Connecticut and more populous than forty-three of the fifty states, is totally dominated by one exceedingly fit newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*. Not only is the *Times* by far the largest circulating daily in its own extensive territory, it is the fourth largest in the United States. Of the three North American papers that have greater circulation, two (*USA Today* and *The Wall Street Journal*) clearly are national publications, each with a number of regional editions, and the third (the *New York Daily News*) publishes on the most crowded turf in the United States.

On an average weekday, the *Los Angeles Times* sells more than 1,050,000 copies, and on Sundays it disposes of better than 1,300,000. The *Times* is so huge by almost every

measure — advertising, editorial content, number of employees, number of pages, gross revenues, net revenues, weight, and girth — that it is hard to imagine why any competitor would dare to challenge it. The very idea of a rival daily attempting to survive in the domain of the *Times* suggests a tenuous existence like that of a small bird living on leeches picked out of the lips of a crocodile.

And yet competitors do survive, even within the sphere of this most imperialistic of regional newspapers. There are throwaways and shoppers, ethnics and undergrounds, entertainment guides, and defiant little community weeklies. Suburban dailies ring the city, not exactly hemming in the *Times*, but messing up its territory with their racks and trucks and bundles of paper.

Some of these competitors, like local papers everywhere, are little more than delivery systems for shopping-center supplements. They survive because they serve a function the *Times* cannot fill and does not want to fill. But there also are on the flanks of the mighty *Times* at least four newspapers that are more than symbiotic crocodile birds. They are the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (generally known as the *Herex*), a Hearst newspaper of sinister ancestry; the Long Beach *Press-Telegram*, a homey, substantial Knight-Ridder paper; *The Orange County Register*, an assertive daily belonging to the Freedom newspaper chain; and the *Los Angeles Daily News*, an erstwhile freebie until recently owned by the Tribune Corporation of Chicago. Although all four, put together, do not command the circulation — much less the prestige — of the mighty *Times*, a couple of them are regarded down at Times Mirror Square as distinctly annoying.

The threat from the *Times*'s traditional competitor, the *Herald Examiner*, is difficult to underestimate. The *Herex* has shriveled over the past two decades from a daily circulation of about 730,000 to only 237,000, a quarter that of the *Times*. Nothing has contributed more to the *Times*'s reputation for irresistible power than the decline of this formerly fierce and impudent newspaper.

During the early 1960s, the *Herex* enjoyed a flicker of glory as the largest evening paper in the United States and the strongest in the Hearst chain. But in 1967 its publisher, George Hearst, Jr., opted for a showdown with the trade unions. When The Newspaper Guild, unable to negotiate a

Richard Reinhardt, who has written several books on California history and politics, teaches newswriting at the Graduate School of Journalism of the University of California, Berkeley.



wage increase, struck the *Herex* in December 1967, Hearst hired strikebreakers and continued to publish. The strike went on for months, for *years*. Liberals who had never read the *Herex* announced a boycott; union sympathizers stink-bombed theaters and broke the windows of department stores that advertised in the *Herex*. Circulation and advertising dwindled. Meanwhile, the *Times*, under the direction of Otis Chandler, had embarked on an astonishing course of self-improvement. The expanded, invigorated paper, virtually unopposed in the second largest market in the United States, was recruiting a huge new staff, winning prizes,

reaching out for readers all over southern California.

After spending six years and more than \$6 million fighting George Hearst, the exhausted unions suspended the strike. The *Herex*, left with a diminished audience scattered thinly over the vast Los Angeles landscape, a clouded reputation, a name that sounded like a scalp medicine, and the gargantuan *Times* for a playmate, went searching for friends. It has represented itself in recent years as the newspaper of the entertainment industry, of women, of young people, of minorities, of the West Side of Los Angeles. To attract subscribers it tried contests (WINGO), giveaways, and a

weird, self-deprecating advertising campaign — “The newspaper for people who don’t have all day to read.”

The privately owned Hearst Corporation does not publicize its profits and losses, but it can be assumed that the *Herex* loses money. At last count, it had about 170 full-time editorial employees; the *Times* has nearly 1,000.

One morning last winter, John P. Lindsay, a tall, heavy-bodied, bearded man who has been the managing editor of the *Herex* for the past four-and-a-half years, was sitting alone in his office, clipping a copy of *The New York Times* for editorial ideas. He drew up a chair for his visitor alongside the conference table and said with quiet satisfaction that the *Herald*, as he calls it, has been gaining subscribers in the past couple of years. He attributed this in large part to the efforts of the circulation and advertising departments to establish more home delivery routes.

Why, he was asked, would a reader choose the *Herex* instead of the *Times*? Lindsay nodded as if he had heard that question before.

“Because it’s a quicker read,” he said. “Livelier. Not so heavy and self-consciously comprehensive. Our coverage on breaking news, given our resources, is good. We’ve got a really good op-ed page, a little less boring than the *Times*. From a political standpoint, we’re a bit more . . . populist, although that’s a tough word to define. We’re more pro-people, less pro-bureaucracy.”

The most difficult problem in fighting the *Times*, he said, was to “break people of the habit of reading it.” But the “regional perspective” of the *Times* gave an opportunity for a competing, local paper to succeed by really covering the city.

“The *Register* — *The Orange County Register* — they’ve exploited the *Times*’s preoccupation with being a national newspaper, not concentrating enough on being a Los Angeles paper. I like to think we’re forcing the *Times* in the same way.”

Lindsay smiled as though pleased by visions of the *Herex* and the *Register* jabbing the flanks of the *Times* with small swords.

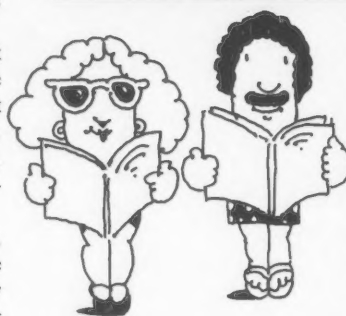
The *Register*, published in Santa Ana, thirty-five miles southeast of downtown Los Angeles, rammed its stiletto home last year by winning a Pulitzer Prize for its photographic coverage of the 1984 Olympic Games in southern California, an event the *Times* had recorded in suffocating detail.

For decades the *Register* was renowned primarily for the dogmatic opinions of its publisher and its amazing resistance to good fortune. Firmly ensconced in the administrative center of one of the fastest-growing areas of population in North America, the *Register* managed, year after year, to gain recognition on various lists of the “Ten Worst Papers in America,” while gradually losing circulation to the invading *Times*.

The owner and publisher of the *Register* from 1935 until his death in 1970 was a fragile, ninety-four-pound essayist named R. C. (for Raymond Cyrus) Hoiles. Usually described as an ultra-conservative or “Orange Nut,” Hoiles was characterized by his own newspaper some years after

his death as merely a “libertarian” — the sort of person who expressed his dismay with the grossness of government by refusing to have anything to do with it. In the words of one of the current editors of the paper, Hoiles was “a sort of eighteenth-century liberal — the kind that would seriously question whether you ought to own a TV station because they’re government-regulated.” *Time* magazine deemed him “slightly to the right of Herod.” As for the political environment that Hoiles helped create in Orange County, it was so predictably right-wing that Barry Goldwater observed ruefully after the 1964 presidential election that he had carried only “six states and Orange County.”

The burst of population to the southeast did not escape notice at the imperial *Times*, which established a production plant in Costa Mesa in 1968. With a separate editorial staff of more than 100, the *Times* developed an Orange County



‘The *Register* committed itself to persuading Orange County that it is not a faceless, incoherent urban sprawl but one of the rare counties that actually has an identity’

daily that is virtually a complete makeover of the Los Angeles paper. By the late 1970s, the *Register*’s edge over the *Times* in Orange county was only 38,000, and the gap was narrowing.

In 1979, however, one R. David Threshie, a philosophical libertarian himself and the husband of a granddaughter of R. C. Hoiles, became publisher of the *Register* and set the paper on a course of expansion not unlike that of the *Times*. Threshie tripled the news staff, quadrupled the budget for newsgathering, put \$1.8 million into color printing technology. (In a recent poll of editors across the country, the *Register* rated at the top, with *The Seattle Times*, for its effective use of full color.)

More important, perhaps, the *Register* committed itself to persuading Orange County that it is not a faceless, incoherent, disunited urban sprawl but is, to the contrary, one of the rare counties that actually has an *identity*. The therapy consisted of occasional feature articles assuring Orange County that it was unique, if not downright loveable — and, more significantly, massive doses of local news. In 1985 the *Register* added seventeen once-a-week community sections for Newport Beach, Leisure World, Anaheim, and more than a dozen other habitats that only a loving land developer could tell apart. The weekly tabloids are chock full of police blotter reports (“loss of hub caps,” “meat-slicing machine stolen,”) building permits, city council voting records, births, marriages, and on-the-street interviews about such issues as “Should board surfing be banned at

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David Steinberg (left), President of PR Newswire, reviews a news release with PRN Editorial Director Robert Frump. In 1958, Steinberg won the coveted Loeb Award for Distinguished Financial Journalism while he was an editor for the New York Herald Tribune. 25 years later Frump won the 1983 Loeb Award while a writer and business news editor for the Philadelphia Inquirer.

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the Wedge?" (consensus: no), and "Will the increase in Laguna Beach parking meter fees affect your shopping habits?" (consensus: probably not).

Since 1979, the *Register* has been able to hold the *Times* to about 165,000 daily in Orange county, while the *Register* itself has pushed up to 285,000. Bill Thomas, the editor of the *Times*, rates the *Register* "by far the strongest, outside ourselves, in this area," and he attributes the paper's success to grabbing and holding the role of hometown paper. "They decided what they wanted to be — and that's what it took. What we've done is to keep a pretty firm hold on the most literate audience, and that's what we've always wanted."

At the other end of the Santa Ana Freeway, Harvey Myman, the *Register*'s assistant managing editor for news, hails the *Times* as "a wonderful paper to compete with. They're so good — tremendous resources, great strength. Perhaps a little slow to react, lacking some of our flexibility." And, he adds, way out-of-town. "After publishing here for about a year, they decided to do the big hit on Orange. It read like it was written in L.A. to be read in New York: 'An inside look at L.A.'s Neighbor, Orange' — that kind of thing."

N. Christian Anderson, the editor whom David Threshie recruited from a lesser position at *The Seattle Times* to oversee the invigoration of the *Register*, dotes on audience research, all of which reassures him that Orange is a distinctive place.

"We create an Orange County paper from scratch every day," Anderson says, "The *Times* adds some Orange County stories to a paper edited for southern California. We have helped create Orange County as an identity for people who live here. We've made them need the Orange County paper."

Byond the western border of distinctive Orange County, in the neighboring city of Long Beach, just twenty miles due south of downtown Los Angeles, the *Press-Telegram* has been dutifully spinning out a homespun newspaper for a full century. Long Beach is the second largest city in Los Angeles county, (381,000 population), and it seldom needs to be reminded that it has an identity and a newspaper of its own. Back in the 1920s, when several hundred thousand people from the Midwest used to gather in Bixby Park every winter for the Iowa Day picnic, Long Beach was known as the Seaport of Iowa. During and after World War II, industries moved in, and with them came a polyglot, multicolored work force. In recent years, new thousands of Hispanic immigrants and southeast Asians — Cambodians, Thais, Vietnamese — have joined the gang. The *P-T*'s realm, with about a million population, includes Compton (largely black), Gardena (strongly Japanese), Lakewood (mostly white in face and collar), and the cosmopolitan, working-class port of San Pedro — all told, eighteen diverse communities within a radius of about fifteen miles of the plant at Sixth Street and Pine Avenue. With sales of 126,518 copies daily and 134,827 on Sundays, the *P-T* claims to reach 45 percent of the potential readers within its reach. The *Times* gets fewer than 15 percent of the newspaper

buyers in the *P-T*'s sphere of influence, and the *Herex* a mere 2 percent.

Most days, the *P-T* is like a journalism textbook on how to find the hometown angle in every news event. Last year, on the anniversary of V-J Day, the paper sent one of its columnists on a tour of the South Pacific and the resulting series of articles gave a strong impression that World War II was a struggle between the Empire of Japan and the men of Long Beach. In reporting the disastrous launch of the space shuttle Challenger last January, the *P-T* carried full wire service reports and pictures, but augmented them with a double page of interviews and photographs of people who had worked on components of the spacecraft at local aerospace companies. An enterprising staff reporter dug up the headline news that one of the astronauts, Ronald E. McNair, had been the 1984 graduation speaker at a high school in neighboring Compton.

"We do very serious public-service journalism, but all the time we deliberately make the paper as warm and personal as we can," says Larry Allison, the executive editor. "Whereas the *Times* feels compelled to put out the historical page one, we will emphasize the human story, the local implications."

This difference in outlook would seem to guarantee a peaceful if unequal co-existence between the *Times* and the *Press-Telegram*. Indeed, Bill Thomas, up at the *Times*, says amiably, "Long Beach just sits there like a pocket, where we've never been very strong and aren't now. They're not a threat to us, and we don't seem to threaten them."

But the *Press-Telegram* in the last year or so has lost some of its friendly hometown readers and, hemmed in by rivals, it has no obvious area of expansion. To the east is Orange County and the muscular *Register*, to the north the *Times*, to the west and south the Pacific Ocean. It is the sort of Dungeons and Dragons predicament that can force a newspaper to turn mean.

"The situation is changing," Allison says. "First, the *Register*, in a very short period of time, becomes a good, competitive paper, a bigger player. The *Daily News* pops up — almost literally pops up — and becomes a major player, too. The [Torrance] *Breeze* becomes a major factor in the L.A. basin. You've got increasing competition for this ten-million-person market, and as you slice up the advertising budget for the whole Los Angeles basin, someone's going to lose."

Up in the San Fernando Valley, beyond the Santa Monica Mountains, the *Daily News*, the pop-up competitor, recently has shown a winsome inclination to get as folksy as the *Press-Telegram* and as pushy as the *Register*. Launched in 1911 as *The Van Nuys News*, a throwaway published in a job printing shop on a great, empty highway running north into the vast plain that everyone in southern California simply calls "the Valley," the paper developed into a free community bulletin tossed on doorsteps in Sherman Oaks, North Hollywood, Encino, and other growing villages. It called itself *The Valley News and Green Sheet*, a name by which a few old timers still remember it.

continued

The 1986 Pulitzer Prize for Investigative Reporting
The Lexington Herald-Leader
Jeffrey Marx and Michael York

The 1986 Pulitzer Prize for General News Reporting
The Miami Herald
Edna Buchanan

The 1986 Pulitzer Prize for Spot News Photography
The Miami Herald
Michel duCille and Carol Guzy

The 1986 Pulitzer Prize for Feature Photography
The Philadelphia Inquirer
Tom Galish

The 1986 Pulitzer Prize for National Reporting
The Philadelphia Inquirer
Arthur Howe

The 1986 Pulitzer Prize for Feature Writing
St. Paul Pioneer Press & Dispatch
John Camp

The 1986 Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting
San Jose Mercury News
Lewis Simons, Pete Carey and Katherine Ellison

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For sixty years, *The Valley News* prospered on legal notices, food store ads, and classifieds, fattening along with the land speculators and building contractors who were making the Valley go boom. In 1973, the Tribune Company bought the publication for something over \$25 million and set about turning it first into a daily and then, in 1982, into an entirely paid-circulation challenger to the dominance of the *Times*.

In the first eight years of the Tribune's regime, the *Daily News* cut its free circulation in half and doubled its number of paying customers. In spite of this difficult transformation, the paper made impressive gains in circulation: from 132,936 in 1983 to 150,403 in 1985. The owners brought in a seasoned publisher, Byron C. Campbell, from Chicago, and an experienced editor, Tim Kelly, who had held managerial jobs with papers owned by the Times Mirror Corporation in Dallas and Denver. Under Campbell and Kelly, the *Daily News* substantially increased its staff of editors, photographers, and reporters. They issued each day's paper in four zoned editions, added *Parade*, a separate business section, and a weekly business tabloid. And, on the assumption that whatever flies in La Habra and Hawaiian Gardens will also take wing in Tarzana and Woodland Hills, they started fourteen weekly "Neighbors" sections.

If the formula was familiar, the content was unique — not Orange, not Angeleno, but pure Valley: ENCINO MAN WRITES SONG, SUNLAND-TUJUNGA GIRLS IN HELICOPTER CRASH, WOODLAND HILLS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PLANS SPELLING BEE.

"We can be the hometown paper," Tim Kelly said. "We live here, work here. Our kids go to school here."

The "here" of the San Fernando Valley might strike outsiders as a seamless web of virtually indistinguishable towns stretching over thousands of acres of featureless desert to the base of the murky brown mountains. To Kelly, however, "there is a sense of identity here. If you're out of state, you may say, 'I'm from Los Angeles.' If you're in southern California, you'll say, 'the Valley.' And if you're in the Valley, you'll say Encino or Northridge or whatever. We can talk to that."

The success of the *Daily News* in converting to a paid daily clearly alarmed the *Times*, which started a full-scale Valley edition in October 1984. With a staff of fifty, it has its own news section seven days a week, a special sports section five days a week, and a Valley business section and a "View" feature section once a week. Last year, the *Times* opened a \$96 million printing plant, out near the wild frontier in Chatsworth, at the northwestern edge of the Valley.

Last December, the Tribune Corporation, having bought a television station in Los Angeles, was compelled by federal regulations to sell the *Daily News*. The price was set at more than \$100 million, although it was obvious that the paper, which is crowded into seven small buildings on a side street in Van Nuys, would need additional millions in new plant and equipment. The buyer, who came in during the final weeks of a two-tiered auction, was Jack Kent Cooke, owner of the Washington Redskins and former associate of the Canadian publisher Roy Thomson, Lord Fleet. He paid \$176 million.

Even by southern California standards, the Valley, with its affluent and growing population (around a million), is a nice piece of real estate, and the *Times* is not prepared to cede it to an upstart paper that is not particularly handsome, well-edited, or complete.

"It's all a battleground as far as we're concerned," says Kelly. "Our one and only goal is to surpass the *Times* in circulation. We sell for a dollar seventy-five a week, they cost two fifty. Price has gotten to be a factor. So we go head to head with them, day after day. You win some, you lose some. Today, we beat them by a day on two of their four lead stories. And I happen to think we did a better job, too."

Down at the *Times*, the prevailing opinion of the *Daily News* verges on contempt. *Times* reporters in writing about the sale of the paper always referred to it as "the Van Nuys-based *Daily News*" or as "the suburban paper in Van Nuys." In reporting the sale, they emphasized Cooke's career as a sports impresario, downplayed his experience in media.

"I can see why the *Times* might dislike us," Kelly says, "a funny little paper that used to be printed on green paper. It doesn't reflect well on them to have to compete with us. I think they'd prefer to be doing other things than fighting in their own backyard."

In becoming "regional" — and, more significantly, national and even international in ambition — the *Times* has, indeed, opened areas within its vast and loosely held empire that are vulnerable to the inroads of papers that claim to speak more intimately to and for their readers. Few of these so-called "local" papers are locally owned, however, and most of them are written, edited, and managed by men and women from other parts of the country. The *Daily News*, despite its professed devotion to the Valley, is (like the *Register*) peculiarly lacking in a precise location of its own. The masthead does not specify its place of publication — it is simply the *Daily News*. And its editorial and op-ed pages, like those of innumerable other allegedly local American newspapers, are an eclectic display of opinion and analysis from the services of The Washington Post, The New York Times, the Chicago Tribune, the McClatchy News Service. Still, to editors like Tim Kelly, they are closer to the home ground than the *Times* will ever be.

"You look at the front page of the *Times* and you know what the *Times* wants. It wants to be perceived as the best newspaper in the country. We just want to be the best paper in the Valley."

And there it is, the *Daily News* of somewhere, along with fifteen other papers on those irritating metal racks lined up along Spring Street at the very doorway of the *Times*. Neither alone nor in league are they strong enough to leap out and wrestle with the giant; but their very existence is a reminder that success, to endure, must be renewed each day at dawn.

Presumably, the editors and the publisher of the *Los Angeles Times* are able to ponder that homily without faltering as they stroll past the row of newsracks on their way to the bank.



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DAILY NEWS

New York's Hometown Paper

Is time running out for network news?

With a Winnebago and a 'dish,' local TV can cover the world on its own

by WILLIAM J. DRUMMOND

Stan Turner and Ruth Spencer make their living as the anchors for KSTP-TV's *Eyewitness News* in Minneapolis-St. Paul. So what were they doing last November anchoring President Reagan's speech before a joint session of Congress?

The president was addressing Congress and the nation only hours after winding up his first summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev. As a Marine helicopter landed on Capitol Hill and Reagan made his way to the rostrum in the well of the House of Representatives, Turner and Spencer, seated in the KSTP newsroom, gave viewers a running narrative.

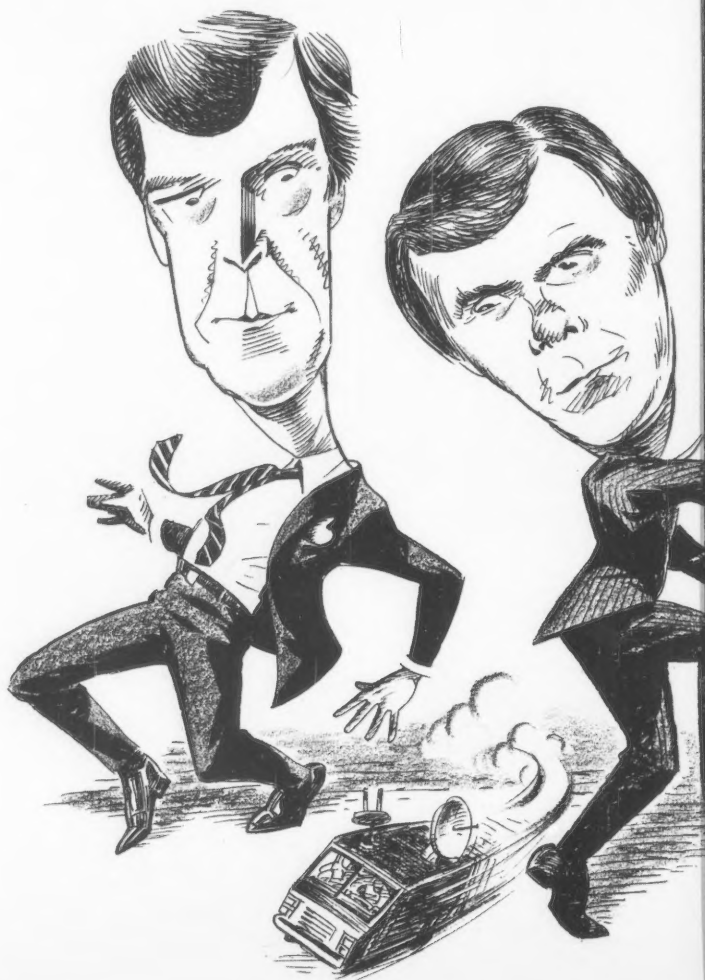
At the conclusion of the speech, KSTP had its own analysts on hand. Harlan Cleveland, a former State Department official now at the Humphrey Institute at the University of Minnesota, and John O'Neill, state adjutant of the Minnesota Veterans of Foreign Wars and a member of the conservative lobbying group Peace Through Strength, discussed the president's message. The Strategic Defense Initiative, Cleveland said at one point, seeks to "erect a Metrodome over us," a reference to the Minneapolis sports stadium.

KSTP then returned to Washington for interviews with members of the Minnesota congressional delegation. Assembled on the steps of the Capitol, the

lawmakers had more than arms control on their minds. Referring to an upcoming football game between the University of Minnesota and the University of Iowa, they cheered "Beat the Hawkeyes!" before settling down to discuss U.S.-Soviet relations.

Finally, to round out its coverage with live reactions to the speech, KSTP sent its Winnebago "Newstar" van, equipped with a satellite dish, out to Winthrop, a farming community southwest of Minneapolis. ("Any time you talk, things turn out better," one farmer said of the summit meeting.)

KSTP is an ABC affiliate and could have gone with the network coverage of the presidential address by Peter Jennings, George Will, Sam Donaldson, and the rest of the veteran ABC News correspondents and Washington-based analysts. That the station chose to preempt the network exemplifies a new daring, bordering on hubris, that is spreading among the country's approximately 700 network-affiliated television stations. For years, big-city TV news operations, flush with huge amounts of advertising revenue, have showcased their highly promoted anchors by dis-



William J. Drummond is acting professor at the University of California's Graduate School of Journalism at Berkeley and reports from the San Francisco area for National Public Radio.

patching them to "localize" national and international stories. Now, with even bigger budgets, more airtime to fill, and more sources of news available to them, many local news directors are beginning to believe that the network news divisions have outlived their usefulness.

"If the general manager came to me and said, 'Bob, I'll give you ten million dollars next year and we're going to drop *NBC Nightly News*. Can we and should we?' I'd say yes to both questions," says Robert Hodieme, associate news director at KRON-TV, the NBC affiliate in San Francisco.

One reason Hodieme would find it easy to abandon NBC is that KRON has, in effect, affiliated itself with another network. Like KSTP, KRON is a partner in Conus, a news cooperative owned by a consortium of local stations around the country. Founded in 1984 by Hubbard

Broadcasting, which owns KSTP, Conus works much like the Associated Press. Each day, its thirty-four members send raw video footage and finished reports by satellite to Conus master control in Minneapolis, which feeds them back

THE ELECTRONIC BEAT

out to affiliates. A Washington bureau provides live coverage of all major addresses, briefings, and news conferences, as well as facilities enabling member stations to interview sources by satellite. The bond thus formed between local stations often takes precedence over their network affiliations. Last February, for instance, when northern California was flooded after torrential rains, reports by KRON, an NBC affiliate, were broadcast by KSTP, an ABC af-

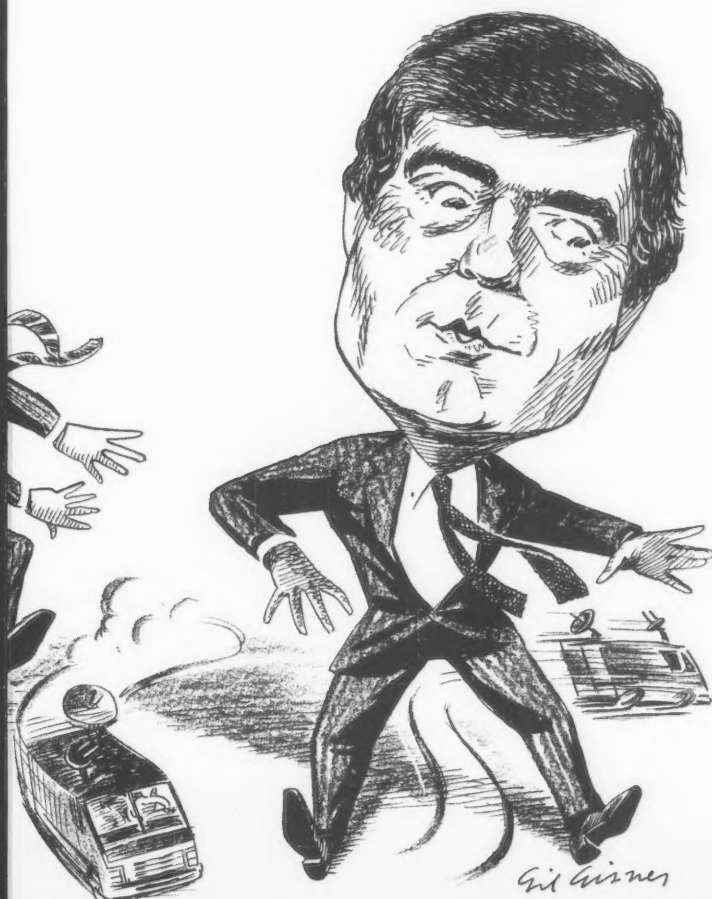
filiate. "There are stations from all the networks involved in Conus," says KSTP news director Scott Goodfellow, "and I think that the attitude of many of them would be, if something big happens in the market, I'll help Conus members first."

Conus is not the only alternative source of news now available to local stations. Newsfeed, headquartered in New York and Philadelphia, is the largest of about a half dozen such syndicated news services. Run by Westinghouse's Group W, owner of five local stations, Newsfeed has over eighty participating stations. Stations put their program material on the satellite and they can take anything they like off it. Last year a Boston member station sent its own crew to cover the installation of an American cardinal at the Vatican. That same report appeared on KPIX in San Francisco. "We had material that we literally did not have to pay anything for," says Arthur Kern, KPIX's former vice-president and general manager.

In addition to groups such as Newsfeed and Conus, many direct, over-the-counter services distribute video footage and finished reports to stations by satellite. Cable News Network has signed up many broadcast stations and the Tribune Company's Independent Network News now provides an international news service to both independent stations and network affiliates.

A decade ago, such news services would not have been able to find enough customers to support themselves. Back then, most local news shows broadcast by network affiliates lasted either thirty minutes or an hour. Each afternoon, as a service to their affiliates, the network news divisions would distribute raw video of that day's top national or international stories, often saving the best pictures for their own evening news shows. If a local station wanted to run a national or international story, most were satisfied to fashion the network-supplied footage into a short piece narrated by the station anchor.

But as local news broadcasts became the stations' chief source of revenue, expanding to two hours or even two and a half hours daily, the need for inexpensive, well-produced news stories grew rapidly. Coincidentally, the advent of inexpensive satellite technology made the



CJR/Gil Guisner

networks' position as the exclusive purveyors of world and national news obsolete. These days, local stations often broadcast extensive reports on the day's major stories long before the network evening news shows come on the air.

As a result, many station managers are beginning to question whether the networks' evening news is worth broadcasting. In many major cities a thirty-second spot at 6:30 or 7:00 in the evening can sell for as much as \$2,000. Multiply that by sixteen and you will have an idea of the money a local station could make in a single day by dropping the network evening news. "Unless the networks make their product appreciably and dramatically superior, I doubt there's much of a future for network news," says Fred W. Friendly, professor emeritus at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism and a former president of CBS News. Similarly, former *CBS Morning News* anchor Bill Kurtis, who now works for WBBM in Chicago, says he thinks there's room for just one national evening news show and that Dan Rather is likely to be the last anchorman on the national level.

Although network executives say that reports of the imminent death of network news are greatly exaggerated (it's a "simplistic and kind of silly view," says NBC News president Lawrence Grossman), they recognize the competitive threat posed by their affiliates and have recently taken steps to combat it.

As a first step, ABC and CBS have beefed up their affiliate news departments and now provide local stations with more raw news reports than ever before. At NBC, affiliates receive over two hours of video each day and the choice footage is no longer held for exclusive use by *NBC Nightly News*. In addition, NBC is facilitating the exchange of program material on a national rather than a regional basis. ABC and CBS, for their part, are helping their affiliates acquire satellite technology and have organized regional news cooperatives so that stations can swap stories. Last year, ABC announced that it would pay half of the estimated \$360,000 cost of a satellite-equipped van for each of fifty affiliates. By July, six ABC regional news cooperatives will be in place

nationwide, giving affiliates access to more than 100 news and sports stories a day. "The fact is that by doing this we help ourselves and help our affiliates," says Don Dunphy, Jr., ABC's vice-president of news services. "They have other options [a reference to such rival news suppliers as Conus and Newsfeed]. They would take advantage of them."

Basically, the networks' strategy seems to be to become the primary supplier to their affiliates of regional, national, and international material, with the hope of ultimately becoming the exclusive supplier. They want to create dependence through generosity.

Of the three networks, NBC appears to be the most aggressive about positioning itself for the future. Last year, the network announced that it was starting a twenty-four-hour cable news service, in direct competition with Cable News Network, that would serve as a major outlet and resource for NBC's affiliates. The plan collapsed when NBC began negotiating to acquire CNN, but NBC's Lawrence Grossman says he has not given up on the idea of a cable news channel. "We've got the stuff; we need more outlets for it," he says.

This past February, Grossman floated the idea of replacing *NBC Nightly News* with a ninety-minute "newswheel" combining local and network reports. Officials of the network say the idea is speculative, but if the plan were to go through it would probably resemble the arrangement between the network and local stations on NBC's *Today* show. The network would broadcast segments of a set length, giving local stations the option of cutting in to fill one or more segments with their own reports.

Although the plan links the network more closely to its affiliates and meets NBC's need to expand, observers say it will never get the approval of local affiliates, who would be expected to give up even more of their air time (and ad revenue) than they do now. "The wheel is [the kind of thing I would consider] if I were trying to guarantee a need for network news programs," says Charles Dutcher III, general manager of Conus. "It's very much a defensive move."

In addition, the wheel would force the affiliates' star anchors to share the stage with their network counterparts. Bill Kurtis, the star anchor at WBBM in Chi-

cago, says he respects and admires Tom Brokaw. "But why do I need Tom to read the intro to a piece from Europe? Give me the piece. I'll read the intro."

The network news organization of the future will in all likelihood take its cue from Cable News Network — a round-the-clock service providing not just correspondent reports but also unedited, uncut feeds for those affiliates that want to package their own reports. It will be the equivalent of a wire service for television, a giant cooperative with member stations swapping stories by satellite. Increasingly, the survival of the network evening news will depend on the quality and depth of its reporting. KSTP's coverage of Reagan's address to Congress was an adventurous step for a local station — but it also served as a reminder of how unsophisticated local station coverage can be. Forced to fill time before the president arrived, local anchors Stan Turner and Ruth Spencer were less than brilliant. ("I'm sure all of our fellow citizens will be interested in what he has to say," Turner said, referring to Reagan.) After the speech, the guest analysts in Minneapolis were only marginally informative, seeming not all that familiar with the issues being discussed.

There's no question that the center of gravity in television news innovation has shifted from the networks to the affiliates. But reflecting on the number of national debates that have been profoundly influenced by network coverage, one can't help but wonder if local stations are ready for their new responsibilities. Apart from the question of journalistic sophistication, there is the question of whether "localized" coverage of national and foreign news will deprive viewers of valuable context and perspective. The Army-McCarthy hearings, the civil rights struggle, the war in Vietnam — how would such events have been handled if left to the news judgment of affiliates who tailored their coverage to "the local angle"? For better or worse, the networks have functioned during the past thirty years as a tremendous force for shaping the national consensus. The trend toward localizing national news coverage is likely to make consensus on divisive issues increasingly difficult. ■

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Times Mirror

We're interested in what you think.

From Adelaide to Raymond to Manes

How the tale of a missing woman led to explosive exposés in New York and Chicago

by BERNARD McCORMICK

Whatever happened to Adelaide?

It was just an offhand question, uttered by a woman in Fort Lauderdale two years ago. But it raised a thousand more questions now being asked in Chicago and New York.

The woman, a journalist named Margaret Walker, was asking about her friend Adelaide Stiles, who had disappeared one day in 1975. Investigative reporter Gaeton Fonzi heard the question and thought it sounded like a good title for a magazine article. He was working for *Miami/South Florida* magazine at the time and was looking for a story he could knock off in a hurry. The mysterious disappearance of Adelaide Stiles had inherent drama — a suspected murder that had never been solved.

Fonzi remembered the case. In 1977 he had been a major stockholder and contributing editor of Fort Lauderdale's *Gold Coast* magazine when it had published a story about white-collar crime. The piece described how a man named Michael Burnett had become romantically involved with Stiles, a lonely woman in her sixties who had inherited some money but tended to exaggerate her wealth. She was last seen leaving for a vacation with Burnett in the Florida Keys and London.

When Adelaide Stiles did not return to Fort Lauderdale, *Gold Coast* reported, her friends began asking questions. Burnett told them that he had decided not to go to Europe and assumed that Adelaide had gone ahead on her

Bernard McCormick, former publisher of Gold Coast magazine, is a longtime freelance writer who lives in Florida.

own. The story had a dramatic denouement: Adelaide's money had disappeared along with Adelaide, and Michael Burnett turned out to be Michael Raymond, an accomplished swindler who would later be connected to the disappearances of two other South Florida residents and who had been given his new name by the Justice Department after working as an informer.

Gaeton Fonzi had not done any work on the 1977 *Gold Coast* story. But he knew that Raymond had never been arrested in connection with the disappearance of Adelaide Stiles. When Margaret Walker brought up her name seven years



later, Fonzi thought the case might make for an interesting little follow-up piece.

That interesting little piece led Fonzi to what has become one of the biggest political corruption stories in years. As front-page headlines have revealed a widening network of bribery and extortion, a former Chicago policeman and the borough president of Queens, New York, have committed suicide and dozens of politicians in Chicago and New York are drenched in sweat. New York *Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin calls it "the greatest municipal scandal in this city since Jimmy Walker was mayor."

The investigation that Fonzi started in the fall of 1984 and hoped to knock off in a hurry ended up lasting more than a

year. Fort Lauderdale police told him that Michael Raymond was serving time for securities fraud. But Fonzi learned that Raymond was not in prison. He had been paroled after serving an unusually short portion of his thirteen-year sentence. Fonzi looked deeper and soon realized he was facing a coverup. Each time he came close to obtaining a file on Raymond, it was snatched away by some invisible hand. "I learned that he had been arrested in Nashville on a suspected burglary in 1984 and had been convicted on a weapons charge," Fonzi says. "But when I called the judge to find out when he would be sentenced, the clerk told me the file was sealed."

Since Raymond's conviction had constituted a parole violation, why was he still out on the street? Knowing that Raymond had in the past acted as an FBI informant, Fonzi made a connection. "It was obvious [the FBI] was using him on something," he says.

Having no idea where Raymond was operating, Fonzi called a local FBI press spokesman in Miami, expecting the typical "no comment." About a week later, however, Fonzi was visited by Edward Hegarty, a special agent in Chicago, where, as Hegarty informed Fonzi, Raymond was the principal undercover link in a major Abscam-type sting operation. As the representative of a company bidding for lucrative city fee-collection contracts, Raymond was winning and dining — and bribing — local politicians and city officials.

In retrospect, Fonzi believes that Hegarty, upon hearing that Fonzi was on the story, may have overestimated the danger the reporter's investigation posed to the FBI operation. During their first conversation, Hegarty told Fonzi that he remembered his name from Philadelphia in the 1960s, when Fonzi had made headlines with a string of exposés published in *Philadelphia* magazine. "He may have thought we had more than we really had," says Fonzi. "What really made him nervous

This advertisement paid for by the Staff Union of the United Nations

was that I knew Raymond had been arrested in Nashville. Nobody knew that in Chicago. . . . If they knew he had been arrested and wasn't in jail, they would have suspected something."

In March 1985, agent Hegarty met with Fonzi, his editors, and the publisher of *Miami/South Florida* magazine. Hegarty asked them to hold Fonzi's story until the investigation in Chicago was completed. To break the story before then, Hegarty said, might endanger Raymond and the FBI agents working on the case. "I didn't give a damn about Raymond, but I didn't want to see any FBI guys get killed," Fonzi says. He agreed to hold his story. In return for his cooperation, Hegarty promised Fonzi an exclusive when the story of the sting operation broke and pledged to cooperate with Florida police in reopening the investigations of the disappearance of Adelaide Stiles and the two others. It was an extraordinary deal. And when he finally received several lengthy briefings from Vincent Connelly, assistant United States attorney for the northern division of Illinois, Fonzi realized that he was on top of a huge story. In addition to the Florida disappearances, there were Raymond's long, and concurrent, careers as a criminal and as an FBI informer, and the Chicago sting operation.

By then, however, Fonzi's investigation had dragged on for months and his editors at *Miami/South Florida* were growing impatient. When Fonzi finally handed in a manuscript, the 35,000-

word draft was much longer than *Miami/South Florida* was prepared to publish. After a delay of seven months, a 10,000-word version appeared in the magazine's January 1986 issue. Fonzi considered this version so heavily edited that he refused to attach his usual by-line. Instead, the credit read "research by Gaeton Fonzi."

In the meantime, Fonzi had been searching for a wider audience. A producer at *60 Minutes* passed (and later apologized). *Washingtonian*, for which Fonzi had written in the past, also turned him down. Then Fonzi called New York *Daily News* editor Gil Spencer. The company Raymond was working for in Chicago — Systematic Recovery Service, Ltd. — was based in New York and held several contracts with the city to collect outstanding parking tickets and other overdue accounts. Although the FBI's investigation focused almost exclusively on Chicago, Fonzi knew there was a New York angle to the story.

Spencer, who had been editor of the *Philadelphia Daily News* before moving to New York, had worked with Fonzi at a Philadelphia suburban daily in the 1950s and had watched his career develop at *Philadelphia* magazine. "Fonzi has always been a hero of mine," Spencer says. "I knew if he said he had a good story, I would probably like it. We jumped into the story, and then it had puppies."

On January 7, the *Daily News* trumpeted the results of Fonzi's investigation on its front page (SLAY SUSPECT DEALS FOR FBI). Inside, the *News* devoted four pages to the sordid history of the "superstar of con men" and the protection he had received from the FBI. Three days later, Queens borough president Donald Manes was found bleeding in his car, his wrist and ankle slashed with a knife. (Two months later, a second suicide attempt was successful.) On January 14, Geoffrey Lindenauer, the deputy director of New York's Parking Violations Bureau and a close friend of Manes, was charged with having accepted a \$5,000 bribe from Systematic Recovery Service, the first in what would become a series of revelations exposing hundreds of thousands of dollars in bribes and other municipal corruption. Without Fonzi, Spencer says, the story wouldn't have broken for months. "It started the whole damn thing in New York," he says.

Fonzi has since signed on with the *Chicago Tribune* as a special correspondent, helping to coordinate the paper's investigation into the scandal there. In Florida, police have reopened the investigations into the three disappearances linked to Michael Raymond. One of these days, they may even discover what happened to Adelaide. ■

CJR/Ronald Roth-Watts



Florida reporter Gaeton Fonzi and his biggest story.

BOOKS

The Time machine

**The World of Time Inc.:
The Intimate History of a Changing
Enterprise 1960-1980**

by Curtis Prendergast with Geoffrey Colvin

Atheneum. 590 pp. \$25

**The Fanciest Dive:
What Happened When the Media
Empire of Time/Life Leaped Without
Looking into the Age of High-Tech**

by Christopher M. Byron

W. W. Norton & Company. 280 pp.
\$16.95

by JOHN BROOKS

The third volume of Time Incorporated's official history — a venture in corporate autobiography, written and edited by platoons of editorial people from the company, ostensibly in the same manner they would treat some other subject — covers the years 1960-80. It is less interesting than the first two volumes, by Robert T. Elson, which covered 1923-41 and 1941-60, respectively. With due credit to Elson, who did his job admirably, the reason may be that in the more recent period Time Inc. was a less interesting company, at least from a journalistic point of view, principally because of the absence from most of the scene of Henry R. Luce, its dedicated, eccentric, brilliant, evangelical, sometimes bigoted co-founder and longtime editor-in-chief, who died of a heart attack in 1967.

True enough, the sixties and seventies were eventful years at Time Inc., and Messrs. Prendergast and Colvin have plenty to relate. Those years roughly marked the managing editorship of the flagship magazine, *Time*, of Henry Anatole Grunwald, who gave it a much more liberal flavor than it had ever had before (interestingly, since Grunwald as

John Brooks is a staff member of The New Yorker and the author of many books.

a younger man had been a certified conservative). They saw Luce's shoes filled coolly, capably, and with a certain flair by a new editor-in-chief, Hedley Donovan, and the business end run in a most businesslike way by chairman Andrew Heiskell. They saw the end (in 1972) of the once-fabulous weekly *Life*, brought to its grave by a variety of forces, with television as the proximate cause of demise. And they saw the birth of new Time Inc. magazines, the first since *Sports Illustrated* in 1954: *People*, *Money*, and *Discover*, along with the rebirth, in a much attenuated form, of *Life* as a monthly. They saw such journalistic developments, well described here, as a fierce ideological struggle between on-the-scene correspondents and their New York editors during the Vietnam War; Clifford Irving's perpetration of his Howard Hughes hoax on *Life*, among others; and even, in 1976, an editorial strike.

Above all, though, those years saw conglomeration. The company had become too rich not to diversify, and it no longer had that obsessed journalist Luce to hold it close to its original last. It should be noted that the trend had started in Luce's time; broadcasting accounted for 14 percent of pretax profits as early as 1963. And although Luce vetoed a merger with the movie company United Artists in 1966, Time Inc. went on to invest \$17.7 million in Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer shortly after his death. After that, corporate acquisitions came so fast that magazine publishing eventually became a minority interest. By the start of the eighties, Time Inc. was involved more or less heavily in newspapers, book publishing and distribution, forest products, broadcast and cable TV, and less heavily in such playthings and doodads as supermarket inventory monitoring services and a chain of racquetball clubs.

Along with these changes, Prendergast and Colvin admit by implication,

went the loss of direction and drive that attends the conversion of a crusade (whether for good or evil isn't the point here) into an investment portfolio — a classic modern American corporate story. The trouble with the book is the relationship of the authors to their subject. They are relentlessly candid about what they and their platoons of editors wish to acknowledge as mistakes (see how objective we are); relentlessly jokey about office doings (see how we don't take it all too seriously); and, in a pinch, foursquare behind management decisions ("Clurman tried to reassure McCulloch. . . . He was right."). They clutter up their pages with short biographies of middle-level people, and reports of office reshufflings and promotions that can be of little interest to anyone but the participants. They wind up by allowing the company to ride off into the sunset to the music of the corporate chief executive's boilerplate in his 1983 letter to shareholders: "Unchanged in the new Time Inc. is the recognition that we must continue to take risks. . . . We're convinced . . . that the worst risk of all would be not taking any."

Christopher Byron's book is the inside story of an event that occupies two paragraphs in *The World of Time Inc.* — the short unhappy life in 1983 of Time's own Edsel, a magazine called *TV-Cable Week* that folded after five months, with a loss of \$47 million in corporate cash and the temporary loss of some \$750 million in stock-market value. *TV-Cable Week* was supposed to conjoin Time Inc.'s expertise in magazine publishing and in cable TV, and thus to cash in on the great national boom in the latter field, by providing a magazine devoted to nothing but cable TV listings and articles for the edification of cable TV subscribers. Byron, a former *Time* writer, was involved in the operation in some editorial way that he never precisely defines; in any case, he suffered, he was there. His spirited, gossipy book is sloppily written in places, but a lot of it is first-class corporate comedy.

What went wrong? Just everything, that's all. What Byron takes to be the seminal event in the planning process

was a conference at which a group led by two ambitious young Time Inc. M.B.A.'s presented a diagram consisting in its entirety of two crossed lines, one vertical and one horizontal. It was explained that the two top segments represented a weekly product, the two bottom a monthly; the left segments were a magazine co-marketed with cable operators, the two right ones a magazine marketed by traditional means. There it all was — another Laffer Curve, except that the Laffer Curve conveys an idea, albeit a simple-minded one. Time Inc. president and chief executive J. Richard Munro was enchanted. "Now that was one of the finest presentations I've ever had the privilege of attending in this company!" he exclaimed, beaming. So it was "go" for *TV-Cable Week*.

From the first, there were problems. One was competition: there was a little fellow up in Connecticut putting out something called *On Cable*; he seemed to be headed for bankruptcy, but he wouldn't quit or even sell. The chief source of listing material was a mom-and-pop operation in Glens Falls, New

York, that sometimes got things wrong. Group vice president Kelso Sutton, in direct charge of the project, wouldn't authorize market tests of the new product; it would be too expensive, and would take too long. New editor-in-chief Grunwald maintained a lofty indifference, although after the project had been moved from Manhattan to White Plains, New York, as another money-saving move, he did occasionally come out there to look around — traveling from Manhattan by helicopter, which took longer than a ride in a mundane limousine and often made him late. As for president Munro, his conduct on one occasion, if we can credit Byron, went to a comic extreme that the master business satirist Charles Chaplin might have thought a bit much. Wishing to watch an early *TV-Cable Week* press conference, but not to be so undignified as to actually attend it, he and his executive vice president squeezed themselves into an unlighted audio-visual booth at one end of the room and eavesdropped on their subordinates and the press to their hearts' content.

On the project rolled toward its fate. Banks of computers were installed at White Plains. The magazine's managing editor, Richard Burghheim, a man oriented toward text rather than listings, chafed that computers were looming so large; the technicians, meanwhile, worried that the computers wouldn't work right, as in fact they didn't. Weeks after the launching, *TV-Cable Week* executives went to Time Inc.'s own subsidiary, American Television and Communications, the nation's second-largest cable TV network, to ask it to market the new magazine, as they had assumed all along that it would dutifully do. They were mortally shocked to find that ATC, subsidiary or not, hadn't the slightest notion of marketing *TV-Cable Week*. The trouble apparently was that up to then nobody at *TV-Cable Week* had got around to asking.

From there on, it was just playing out the schedule. At one point shortly before the folding, Boss Sutton wondered out loud if it might not be better, all things considered, to give the magazine away free instead of trying to sell it. The whole story — or "tragedy," as Burghheim called it — is a classic instance of a little-noted phenomenon, what might be called Downside Synergy: the propensity of organizations to act dumber than any of their individual members.

Taken together, the three Time Inc. corporate history books, with the Byron book as an end-piece, depict a company that has gone through three phases: the period of the amateur journalist, trained in English literature rather than American reporting, circa 1923-45; the era of professional journalism, circa 1945 until shortly before Luce's death; and thereafter, the era of the bottom line. (I am told by Cranston Jones, the veteran Time Inc. editor who had the inspired idea of inviting all past *Time* cover subjects to the company's fortieth-anniversary party in 1963, that there are still amateurs at large there; if so, God bless them.) When I was a fledgling *Time* writer at the point of transition from Phase I to Phase II, my young colleagues and I considered Luce reactionary, doctrinaire, philistine, and money-obsessed. We were right on

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the first two counts, wrong on the last two. Luce put journalism ahead of profit because out of his nature he had no other choice. He dreamed magazines, right down to the atmosphere of tears and ulcers in their offices; then he made his dreams come true, tears, ulcers, and all. Could Time Inc. use that visionary old crotchety now!

Who we are

The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work

by David H. Weaver
and G. Cleveland Wilhoit

Indiana University Press. 216 pp. \$25

by MICHAEL SCHUDSON

This book reports on a national telephone survey of 1,001 American journalists working in television, radio, and print. The journalists were chosen in a systematic random sample and the interviews were conducted by a private market research firm in 1982 and 1983. Indiana University researchers David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit deliberately modeled their questions on a 1971 national survey of journalists conducted by John Johnstone and his colleagues at the University of Illinois (*The News People*, 1976) so they could chart changes in the composition of the body of working journalists. The results are presented in this straightforward and workmanlike account.

Who is the American journalist? According to Weaver and Wilhoit's research, the typical journalist is a politically moderate, thirty-two-year-old, college-educated, married white Protestant male earning \$19,000 a year. Not all journalists are typical, of course. Not all are male — 34 percent are women (compared to 20 percent in 1971). Not all, but almost all — 96 percent — are white, and since 1971 there has been a slight decrease in the percentage of journalists who are black or Hispanic. (The absolute number of minority employees

is slightly up.) Not all journalists are thirty-two years old, but they are disproportionately in the twenty-five to thirty-four-year-old age group.

Not all journalists claim to be political moderates — but most do. Fifty-seven-and-a-half percent put themselves in the middle of the road, 22.1 percent to the left of that, 17.9 percent to the right. In the 1971 survey, 38 percent said they were middle of the road, and in self-reported political views, at least, there has been a decided rightward shift. This data on political views is offered by the authors as a counter to the Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman data, already neatly skewered in these pages by Herbert Gans (see "Are U.S. Journalists Dangerously Liberal?", November/December 1985). Lichter and Rothman found 54 percent of elite journalists (i.e., those who work for such influential national news media as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the three newsweeklies, the three commercial networks, and PBS) to be left-of-center. Not so with a national sample. Nor do journalists in

the national sample see themselves as "adversaries" of government. Rather, the dominant view is that the role of journalists is "interpretive," followed closely by the view that the journalist's job is one of information dissemination, followed by — a very distant third — a small percentage of journalists who believe an "adversary" role the most important. This national data does not refute the Lichter and Rothman work on elite journalists — but it does put it in perspective.

Journalists are more educated than they used to be. In 1971, 58 percent were college graduates; in 1982-83, 70 percent. Whether they are *better* educated depends on what you think about an undergraduate journalism major as a preparation for journalism — the fraction of all journalists with a degree in journalism rose from one-fifth to one-third in a decade. If you add majors in communication, telecommunication, and radio-television, then today more than half of all college-graduate journalists majored in journalism or communications. The news institutions most likely to employ



CJR/Marc Simon

Michael Schudson is a professor in the department of communication and the department of sociology at the University of California in San Diego. He is the author of *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*, published in 1978.

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BOOKS

college graduates are also the ones least likely to employ journalism majors. Apparently, elite news organizations are more likely than run-of-the-mill organizations to look skeptically on the journalism major. The data here should give rise to a serious look at what a curriculum in "communications" or "journalism" is today. If college faculty have a complaint about students more prevalent than "they don't know how to write," it is "they have no sense of history." While writing is a central concern in journalism education, history is not, and this does not augur well for journalism in the decades to come.

Despite more education, journalists earn less in real dollars than they did in 1971. The \$19,000 median income in 1982-83 purchases less at the supermarket than the 1971 median income of \$11,133. For all of television's glamour, TV journalists have a median annual income of \$17,031, compared to \$34,750 for the newsmagazines, \$20,999 for daily newspapers, \$24,100 for the wire services, \$14,999 for radio, and \$13,999 for weekly newspapers. Income, however, depends less on the medium one works in than on the size of the employing institution: at news organizations with twenty-five or fewer editorial employees, the median income is about \$15,000, as compared with just over \$30,000 at organizations with 100 or more editorial employees.

All this is interesting and useful information, but Weaver and Wilhoit's study is going to disappoint readers who hope to find in it much more than a statistical abstract. It does not tell us very much about "The American Journalist" if, by that, one wants to know how American journalists differ from those in other countries or what makes the American journalist tick or what the essential character of the American journalist is like. This is not a "portrait" of American news people unless one accepts painting-by-numbers as portraiture.

Some of the numbers — as with income — are revealing in themselves. Others tell us very little. For instance, the study finds that reporters hear more about their work from readers and viewers than from their news sources or other people in their own news organizations.

Half of all journalists claim to get some response from the public regularly. The results do not differ notably across the different media. What does this mean? It does not square with any impressionistic views I have gained talking with journalists or with the research of Herbert Gans at elite media institutions. Gans finds that the main source of feedback for a newsweekly or national network journalist is his or her superior in the news organization (*Deciding What's News*, 1979). That makes intuitive sense in a way the survey results do not. Perhaps journalists at less elevated institutions simply do not get supervised and their copy does not get much editorial attention. Is that the right explanation? The numbers won't tell.

What use do journalists make of feedback from the public? The numbers do not say. Gans finds that journalists at elite institutions ignore reader mail, ignore audience research, and rely more on the known than the unknown audience — that is, on "family members, friends, neighbors, and people journalists meet at parties." Is this what the interviewed journalists meant by "audience response" — that their husbands or wives, parents or children or next-door neighbors gave them more feedback than their editors? Even if we knew who they meant by the "audience," we would still not know what difference the feedback made. According to Gans's research, "feedback from the known audience is not often used" and many journalists Gans interviewed, especially in senior positions, declared that they wrote primarily for themselves, not for any other audience.

The more the data concerns reporters' attitudes and beliefs about journalism rather than concrete and verifiable information (age, sex, income, or college major), the less valuable the data is. It is not easy to know whether what a person avows to a telephone interviewer reflects deeply held beliefs and guiding principles or whether it is really what sociologist Bennett Berger calls "ideological work," that is, views or beliefs a person develops to accommodate to a social situation in which he or she is stuck. So when we

learn that journalists with higher salaries favor the "interpretive" role rather than the "disseminator" role, we do not know if this belief led them into jobs with better salaries or if the greater freedom they have in such jobs led them to a legitimating belief; we do not know if this is a general view about journalism or a transient rationale for a particular location in a job hierarchy that would have parallels in any bureaucratic organization of craft workers.

Similarly, when we learn that editors are a bit less likely than reporters to value interpretation, we do not know if this is a belief useful to them in controlling unruly reporters or if it is a tough-minded principle that led them to an editing job in the first place — or if it is something they have learned to say to interviewers for public relations purposes because they, more than reporters, feel that they speak for the news organization itself. When we learn that TV journalists are less likely than most print journalists to say that providing entertainment is an important function of the news media, we are dealing not with principle or apology but denial, if not self-hatred. But the study treats all of these responses at face value and makes no effort to discriminate between these different responses and different types of responses. Nor, within the limits of the available data, could it have done so. The numbers, when it comes to attitudes and ideology, just aren't talking.

This book has lots of hard data and not a little hard news, but only a small amount of news analysis, and no op-ed page. The authors can be congratulated on their modesty and on the clear and simple reporting of their important results. They provide a valuable book that others can easily use, and I hope that someone else picks up the Johnstone-to-Weaver-and-Wilhoit baton in another ten or fifteen years. But the subject is so important, the title of the book so encompassing, that a reader cannot be entirely faulted for wishing there was more "there" there. As a group that plays a major role in defining American politics and the American community, as agents of public consciousness and public discourse, American journalists still wait to sit for a three-dimensional portrait.

The prizefighter and the press

Champion
Joe Louis: Black Hero in White America

by Chris Mead
Scribner's. 330 pp. \$18.95

by PETER ANDREWS

The image of how a black prizefighter in America was supposed to act, or at least the image with which white America could be happy, had been established in the late nineteenth century by Peter Jackson, a skilled heavyweight from the West Indies. Jackson fought some of the best men in the division — including Jim Corbett, whom he battled to a sixty-one-round draw in 1891 — but he never forgot his manners. Jackson always called his opponent "mister" or "sir" and when he knocked him out, he was careful to help him back to his corner.

The gold-toothed Jack Johnson changed all that, of course. He not only beat up white men, he pocketed their money, laughed in their faces, and took their women. Even in the rough-and-tumble atmosphere of the fight game, Jackson was an affront, and after he was deposed by Jess Willard in 1915, heavyweight boxing closed ranks and no black man was given a shot at the title until Joe Louis became champion by beating Jimmy Braddock in 1937.

When John Roxborough, one of Joe Louis's managers, was carefully grooming his man for a career in prizefighting, he told the press he had laid down Seven Commandments for how Joe should conduct himself:

1. He was never to have his picture taken along with a white woman.
2. He was never to go into a nightclub alone.
3. There would be no soft fights.
4. There would be no fixed fights.
5. He was never to gloat over a fallen opponent.
6. He was to keep a "dead pan" in front of the camera.
7. He was to live and fight clean.

Joe did not adhere perfectly to these

Peter Andrews is working on a book on heavyweight champions.

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BOOKS

strictures any more than Saint Augustine lived up to the Ten Commandments, but he did pretty well and, partly because of changing times but mostly because of his own brilliant boxing skills and the innate dignity of his bearing, he became the most widely known, most admired black man in America during the first half of the twentieth century and probably did more than any other individual to hasten the breakdown of institutionalized racial segregation in American society.

This important and generally imperfectly understood picture of Joe Louis on the cutting edge of the changes in American racial perceptions is meticulously detailed in the latest biography of the great fighter. Chris Mead's *Champion* is of particular interest to journalists because it documents more fully than any work I can recall the part played by the press in the image-making of a popular hero. If it were not for one dreadful, debilitating flaw, the book might have been a classic.

Let's take the good parts first, because there is much to admire in this work. Mead is very good at setting up the degree to which the American press simply ignored substantive black issues. From 1935 to 1940, A. Philip Randolph, one of the most important black activists of the period, was mentioned in *The New York Times* exactly three times. There were a few publicly visible black entertainers, who were safely confined to singing and dancing and not causing any trouble. But except for Olympic track star Jesse Owens, who also cultivated a circumspect public image not entirely in keeping with his actual life-style, Joe Louis was far and away the most visible black man in America and he was well aware of the responsibility he bore for representing his race well. In a telling moment in his memoirs, Joe recalled, "One time we were talking about these little black toy dolls they used to make of fighters. Those dolls always had the wide grin with thick red lips. They looked foolish. I got the message — don't look like a fool nigger doll. Look like a black man with dignity."

The question of Joe's dignity was of great importance to the black press at the time. When Joe's managers once hosted a cocktail party in his honor, *The Chi-*

Pvt. Joe Louis says—



Library of Congress

cago Defender editorialized furiously against the champion being shown at a place where liquor was served.

Mead ranges wide to show the depth of feeling ordinary black people in America had for Louis. He brings up a 1930s study by sociologist Gunnar Myrdal of a one-room black school in Georgia where the children were so removed from American society they did not know who the president of the United States was, but did know that Joe Louis was the heavyweight champion of the world. And from a memoir by Martin Luther King, Jr., he recalls a pathetic scene of a black prisoner on his way to the gas chamber who died praying, "Save me, Joe Louis. Save me, Joe Louis."

A Yale-educated attorney who first became interested in Louis for an undergraduate paper, Mead has a good eye for the telling detail and does not give way to the easy sentimentality that mars so much sportswriting. In one beautifully understated passage he records how Joe, who was so shy and poor at school that he developed a speech impediment, spent two hours a day being tutored in the basics of grammar, geography, history, and mathematics. He is unsparing about Joe's less admirable qualities, his self-indulgences and his compulsive womanizing. (Although Louis was front-page news, his sexual indiscretions were not generally covered in the press. This was partly a reflection of the natural reticence of the media at the time to publicly discuss such matters and partly be-

cause, while Louis's sexual activities were numerous and varied, they were, when compared to the baroque exploits of a true sexual connoisseur such as Max Baer, rather humdrum.)

On Joe's problems with the Internal Revenue Service and his bouts with mental illness and narcotics, Mead is fair and compassionate. He is less effective when trying to show Joe's greatness as a boxer, which is unfortunate because that is what Joe Louis, first and foremost, was — a prizefighter of uncommon skill and power.

Mead makes a valuable contribution in reexamining the racial issues brought up by the ascendancy of Joe Louis but he comes close to blowing himself out of the water with a smug sanctimoniousness that makes Phil Donahue seem like a regular guy. With his 1980s sensitivities set to a high quiver, Mead has found out that sportswriters in the 1930s frequently wrote in flippant racial terms and this discovery practically undoes him. Mead is a veritable trufflehound in rooting out racially oriented descriptions of the young Louis — "the sable cy-

clone," "the mahogany maimer," "the dusky downer" were typical flights of fancy from the sports desk. There was nothing admirable about this sort of thing but it was typical of a time when fighters were routinely fixed with ethnic labels. Ruby Goldstein was billed as "The Jewel of the Ghetto." The Italian Joseph Corraja changed his name to Johnny Dundee, an affectation which gave him the ongoing nickname of "The Scotch Wop." That racism was a basic element of sports reporting in the 1930s is hardly an issue — even the greatly beloved Grantland Rice had no compunctions about referring to black athletes as "Ethiopians" — but it seems churlish of Mead to berate sportswriters for not being thirty years ahead of the Supreme Court in terms of racial enlightenment.

Mead's tale would have been better served if he had saved some of the understanding he extends to Louis for the press, which, by and large, supported Louis as a great champion and a good man — particu-

larly since Mead falls into a few ethnic traps himself. While he decries sportswriters for identifying Louis as a Negro — what else would they identify him as? — Mead labels Jimmy Braddock's manager Joe Gould as a "New York Jew" for no particular reason.

Mead is so intent on uncovering racism that he does not shrink from shooting a little dirty pool to do it. He claims that columnist Joe Williams was racially prejudiced when he described Louis as a "fellow who isn't supposed to have too much between the ears." Later, Mead describes Louis as "noncontemplative," which strikes me as rather a nice way to say the same thing.

The author's sense of righteousness in racial matters is so all-pervasive that he even manages to wave a finger of scorn at an American World War II propaganda film comparing American democracy with German fascism for failing to mention the institution of slavery.

In the end Mead's constant cluck-clucking at the imperfections of half a century ago come close to drowning out an important and worthwhile story.



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Everybody's business

Worldly Power: The Making of The Wall Street Journal

by Edward E. Scharff

Beaufort Books. 352 pp. \$18.95

by A. KENT MacDOUGALL

If getting written about is a measure of a newspaper's status, *The Wall Street Journal* is finally moving into the class of its more illustrious uptown rival, *The New York Times*. Edward E. Scharff's *Worldly Power: The Making of The Wall Street Journal* is the fourth book in five years on the nation's business daily, and the first to come close to doing the modern *Journal* justice.

For the story of the paper's early years, as well as of the evolution of Dow Jones & Company, the paper's parent, into a sprawling money machine, one must still rely on Lloyd Wendt's company-commissioned history, *The Wall Street Journal: The Story of Dow Jones & The Nation's Business Newspaper* (Rand McNally, 1982). For a view from the executive suite, William F. Kerby's *A Proud Profession: Memoirs of a Wall Street Journal Reporter, Editor and Publisher* (Dow Jones-Irwin, 1981) remains a must. But for a newsroom-eye perspective on the *Journal*'s transition from a narrowly focused financial trade journal into a broad business daily, Scharff's compact volume is the book *Wall Street Journal*-watchers have been waiting for — or at least the best they are likely to get. Concise, readable, and generally reliable, it performs the neat trick of turning an essentially dull crew of solid but square reporters and editors into an interesting cast of characters in a low-key drama spanning forty-five years.

The key player, of course, is Bernard Kilgore. Chief architect of the modern *Journal*, he took over the ailing stock-and-bond sheet in 1941 as managing editor and set about broadening its subject matter while simultaneously simplifying its approach. As Scharff observes, "He

commanded respect by almost never pulling rank, by making people beneath him feel useful and appreciated."

Another major player is Warren Phillips, publisher of the *Journal* and chairman of Dow Jones. Quiet, unruffled, and efficient, Phillips was so good at getting things done that by the age of thirty he was the logical choice for managing editor. "He never gave anyone hell; in fact, he seemed incapable of anger," Scharff reports. "But if you saw that agonized frown on Phillips's face, you knew that you had done something wrong; your stomach would knot, and then, when you tried to explain, you could not be sure he had accepted the

'The Journal isn't as much fun to work for as it used to be'

explanation because he would nod curtly and walk away."

When it came to giving reporters hell, the acknowledged master was national news editor Sam Lesch, a pugnacious, no-nonsense newsman who barked reporters into submission — only to be picked up one day by one of his victims and deposited headfirst in a wastebasket. Ed Cony, managing editor in the late 1960s and a favorite of reporters, was no slouch either. According to Scharff, where Phillips "seemed to suffer from lockjaw, especially in the presence of underlings, Cony was voluble with praise and with criticism. . . . When he got mad, his face, normally ruddy and genial, went dead white. Little red spots appeared at the center of his cheeks, and then he roared."

To be sure (as the *Journal* likes to start its ritualistic countertrend paragraph), sketching vivid characters and telling a good story necessitate leaving out people and practices that don't advance the plot. Like Wendt, Scharff ignores longtime national news editor William Kregar, beloved for his impeccable news judgment, deft pencil, and encyclopedic

memory. While complaining of "diminished commitment to investigative reporting" in recent years, Scharff neglects the fine work of investigative reporters Jonathan Kwitny and Stanley Penn, among others. And it is difficult to understand how he could have overlooked guest radical Alexander Cockburn, whose monthly column on the op-ed page provides a refreshing antidote to the war-is-peace reasoning of the *Journal*'s editorialists.

There are errors of commission, too. Barbara Gartner was a copy editor, not a copy clerk. Fred Taylor replaced Sterling (Jim) Soderlind, not Ed Cony, as managing editor in 1970. Bill Clabby was no longer New York bureau chief in 1973, and he never became a vice president of Dow Jones, only of its Information Services group.

Scharff, a former *Time* business writer who is now a senior editor of *Institutional Investor*, follows the dubious New Journalistic practice of reconstructing conversations and scenes without giving their source. Often the source is obvious, or the dialogue is innocuous, and no attribution is needed. In other cases, phrases such as "reportedly would perorate" or "is said to have exclaimed" are weak substitutes for checking statements with the people who supposedly made them.

Some of the author's own statements are also suspect. He says *The Wall Street Journal* is "arguably the most powerful publication in the United States," but presents no arguments in support of that claim. Maybe that's just as well, given the news business's propensity to overstate its own importance. It usually takes a strike or business failure to demonstrate just how easily life goes on without this or that supposedly indispensable periodical.

Scharff has some keen insights into the news business as well as the *Journal*, though. My favorite: "Washington is the great den of pack journalism, a place where a reporter quickly learns the futility of deviating from the story line that all others are writing. Editors across the nation will read the front pages of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, and their inevitable impulse is to

A. Kent MacDougall, a Wall Street Journal reporter from 1961 to 1971, reports for the Los Angeles Times.

wonder why their own Washington reporters did not get the same thing as those two august publications. Safer to plow the same furrow and sprinkle the same manure."

Scharff's judgments on the current state of the *Journal* are similarly sound. He points out that the paper is losing the compactness that has been one of its chief appeals to busy readers. Not only do some issues run to sixty-four pages, twice the thickness Barney Kilgore thought wise for a second newspaper to which people turn after reading their hometown daily, but the *Journal* now comes in two sections — occasionally, with the addition of special sections, even in four. It's sad to see a once-slim paper whose wide-ranging, thoughtful page-one pieces have been widely emulated imitating its corpulent imitators.

The *Journal* isn't as much fun to work for as it used to be, either. To the longstanding pressure on reporters to produce, the indignity of being heavily rewritten, and the frustration of having to conform to the rigid front-page leader format has been added the bureaucratization of the news department, with its consequent distancing of grunts from generals. No wonder old hands long for the days when Ed Cony made his rounds of the newsroom, chatting, parcelling out praise, exuding enthusiasm. After all, he told Scharff, "We forget that the main point of newspaper work is that it's supposed to be more fun than selling soap flakes."

More significantly, as *The Wall Street Journal* settles into comfortable middle age, first among dailies in weekday circulation and no longer a distant second to *The New York Times* in prestige, it faces the danger of losing its we've-got-something-to-prove esprit. Ned Scharff thinks success won't spoil the *Journal*. "The people who now run the paper appear to have learned just how delicate a task it will be to sustain the paper's growth without relaxing its standards or crushing its spirit." But that giant of old, Barney Kilgore, saw the dangers and deserves the last line. "You never want to get to be the best at something," he once said. "It's much better to be second-best and still struggling." ■



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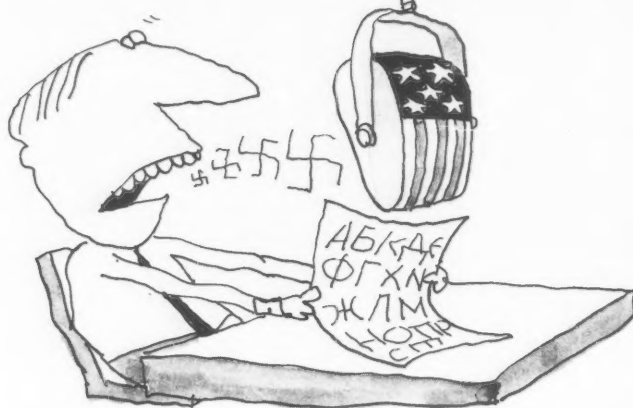
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BRIEFINGS

by GLORIA COOPER



Fouling the air

Anti-Semitism and the Airwaves, by Lars-Erik Nelson, *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1985-86

One broadcast beamed to the Soviet Union in 1984 seemed to justify Ukrainian collaboration with the Nazi SS. Another denounced "the [Christ-hating] Jews." A third appeared to defend one of the bloodiest of Cossack pogroms by suggesting that the Jews had brought it on themselves. Still another offered a whitewash of Nazi atrocities while a fifth intimated subtle approval of czarist ministers and not-so-subtle criticism of Russian Jews for unleashing the communist revolution. And these are only some of the more conspicuous reasons why the U.S. tax-supported Radio Liberty program finds itself — not for the first time — in the eye of a critical storm. The illuminating essay at hand, written by a former Moscow correspondent for Reuters who is now Washington bureau chief for the New York *Daily News*, goes well beyond the superficial news accounts of the continuing complaints and the investigations they have sparked. A speaker of Russian, Nelson provides extended excerpts from the controversial programs and explains what was implied by what was left out — and left in; describes the historical and political context in which the programs were produced and aired; reviews the official agency responses to criticisms they aroused; and adds his own informed, and persuasive, rebuttal to management's arguments in its defense.

Sensitive to the delicate balancing act that Radio Liberty must perform in fulfilling its mission as an instrument of foreign policy, in maintaining the professional standards of American journalism, and in keeping the Soviet people informed, Nelson has little patience with the pervading "clumsiness" that, in his view, threatens to undermine the organization's integrity. Some of that clumsiness, of course, can be laid at the door of the Soviet emigrés who, over the years, have come to comprise the station's foreign language staff and to influence its content, using Radio Liberty's airwaves to fight old ideological wars and settle old political scores, often in nuances so arcane that their Western colleagues fail to even notice, let alone understand. But much of the clumsiness Nelson attributes to the station's misguided management. As a CIA-run organization in the cold-war days of the fifties and sixties, Nelson reminds us, Radio Liberty was not above overlooking records of Nazi collaboration for its own recruitment purposes. Add to this the 1982 decision by Reagan appointees to abolish procedures for pre-broadcast review, and management's consistent refusal to admit mistakes — indeed, Nelson reports, the only employee penalized in connection with any of the five broadcasts cited above was one Vadim Belotserkovsky, a Jewish producer who was abruptly fired last spring when he dared to publicly charge that the station had fallen under the influence of critics of liberal western democracy like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn — add all this together and you've got

a script for coming disaster for the station and its goals.

Exposing the paradoxical power of anti-democratic forces in an organization devoted to the spread of the democratic word, however, is only part of Nelson's purpose; his real objective is reform. One obvious option: more American personnel, better oversight, the reinstatement of pre-broadcast review. A more drastic option, and the one that Nelson favors, would be to relocate the station's headquarters away from "the ghosts of Munich," where right-wing views presumably are more readily tolerated, and "into the sunshine" of Washington or New York. Such a move, the author argues, could provide a newly invigorated Radio Liberty with a diversity of Soviet experts on whom to draw, knowledgeable scholars who could monitor broadcasts, and access by critics to management or to Congress without fear of the kinds of reprisals suffered by whistle-blowers abroad. As a clean and simple solution to a complex, dirty problem, Nelson's proposal would seem well worth considering, even if the Washington climate may not be quite so fair and sunny as he hopefully suggests.

Us and them

Soviet and American Television: A Comparison of News Coverage, by Ellen Mickiewicz, *Nieman Reports*, Winter 1985

While an estimated 20 percent of Soviet citizens — mostly those who are educated, urban, and male — may listen to Western radio at some point during the week, the vast majority get most of their information from Soviet TV. Indeed, some 90 percent of the nation's households, spanning no fewer than eleven time zones, now boast a television set, and two-thirds of those sets are regularly tuned in to prime-time network news. What messages do those sets transmit? Well, for one thing, we are told, a lot of words like "imperialism" and "colonialism" that the audience just doesn't understand. For another, extensive coverage of happenings in the West that has created a disconcerting thirst for even more. Already — and, in fact, well before the advent of the media-savvy Gorbachev, according to the author of this fascinating report — these and problems identified in recent audience research, together with the growing sense of threat from what Chernenko liked to call the West's "information-propaganda intervention," have prompted a shift in official Soviet media policy, as evidenced by the instituting of foreign

ministry press conferences and regular coverage of the Politburo. Other moves to make Soviet TV more responsive and professional, she predicts, are most certainly on the way.

Prepared as part of a pre-Geneva orientation program for journalists jointly sponsored by the Russian Research Center and the Nieman Foundation at Harvard, Mickiewicz's remarks are weighted with the authority of a longtime Soviet media-watcher and a professor of political science at Emory University. Mickiewicz's current project is an extensive comparative analysis of ABC's *World News Tonight* and *Vremya* (Time), the Soviet Union's major prime-time newscast, and she draws generously on the preliminary findings of a month of viewing last fall. One of her most striking findings, she reports, is the difference in the amount of attention that American and Soviet newscasts give to each other's country: whereas, for example, in the month under review Soviet news devoted a total of one hour to coverage of the United States, ABC gave a total of four minutes to coverage of the Soviet Union; and whereas 37 percent of *Vremya*'s stories were about the Soviet Union and 10 percent about the U.S., some 61 percent of ABC's were about the U.S. and 4 percent about the Soviet Union. Moreover, even in *Vremya* stories that were not principally about the U.S., nearly a third blamed the U.S., for the failure to ensure a peaceful world, thus imposing what Mickiewicz characterizes as a "coherence" on world events and a kind of "cognitive map" on Soviet news.

Other findings point to a Soviet pattern of using third parties — interviews with visiting dignitaries, footage of speeches from friendly foreign governments, citations of coverage by the American news media — to impart an aura of legitimacy to Soviet positions and acts. And in the days before Geneva, at least, the author perceived a distinct change of tone, with the Soviet news becoming harder-hitting, more anti-American, and more counterpropagandistic, offering, for example, a litany of human rights violations that ranged from the murder of Allende to the denial of appeal in the case of American Indian activist Leonard Peltier. During that same period, she reports, an hour-long documentary reported on attempts by the CIA — by backing fascist emigrés, for example, and contributing to the Solzhenitsyn Fund, which supports human rights activists in the Soviet Union — to subvert the Soviet system. Yet through all of this, Mickiewicz observes, the Soviet wish for détente — the old détente of U.S. grain sales, of "peaceful coexistence," of the non-interference principles of the Helsinki Accord — remained unchanged; they want, she

stresses, to see it revived.

Such insights were undoubtedly useful to journalists on their way to cover Geneva, and they are bound to be of interest to anyone concerned about relations between the East and the West. Like Geneva, however, Mickiewicz's discussion is only preliminary, and leaves us eager for more, and soon.

Breakdown on the budget

TV News Covers the Budget Debate; The Media Institute, 1986

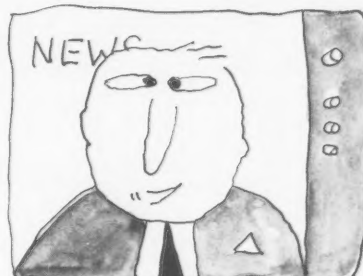
Before we react with too much amusement to the Soviets' discovery that words in their news reports like "imperialism" and "colonialism" have been sailing right past a bewildered Russian public (see above), we might consider the comprehensibility of our own national network news. How many citizens in the Arbitron-Nielsen orbit, for example, readily grasp the difference, without benefit of explanation, between "zero growth" and "no growth," between "budget authority" and "spending authority," between "nominal freeze" and "real freeze," not to mention the meaning of all those other unedifying terms of economic discourse that have become so much a part of the evening news? Not too many, it's safe to say. More to the point, it's even safer to say, they're not getting much help from the newscasts themselves.

That, at any rate, is one of the conclusions of this recent study of how NBC, ABC, and CBS covered the politically hot debate over the \$200 million annual federal deficit last spring. Focusing on two specific issues — defense spending and the Social Security cost-of-living allowance (COLA) — the study examines the nightly newscasts during March, April, and May of 1985 (a period in which budget-reduction initiatives were getting heightened attention) and finds them decidedly wanting. More than half the stories involving Social Security, for instance, failed to meet the study's "minimum criteria" that they report the basic provisions of the proposal being covered ("The Senate budget proposal would freeze the cost of living allowance next year . . ."); that they mention at least one effect the proposal might have on the economy or on individuals (" . . . cutting the budget deficit by \$22 million"); and that they explain complex or unclear budgetary terms. When measured for balance, the networks failed again, devoting an "overwhelming" amount of their total coverage — some 66.9 percent — to questions about

the advisability of the COLA freeze (Would a freeze result in the neglect of the poor and elderly? Are the elderly being asked to bear a disproportionate share of the cuts?). And by a wide margin, most of the coverage of particular aspects of the proposal centered on Reagan's campaign promise that Social Security would not be touched.

There were variations, of course: CBS was the only network to address the larger issue of the Social Security system as a whole; ABC was the only network that failed to raise the issue of whether the elderly as a group are neglected or fairly well off; NBC was the most flagrantly unbalanced in its opposition to the COLA freeze. But looked at together or alone, day by day or overall, the study contends, networks gave their viewers an unquestionably limited perspective on the issues and very little understanding of what was involved. And when they came to defense spending, the pattern was even worse, with the networks' unbalance this time reflected in their marked opposition to increased spending for defense.

Did viewers perceive the bias that the study claims to detect? To find out, researchers conducted a related survey, the results of



which are presented in a separate chapter here. Based on telephone interviews with selected newswatchers in 100 major markets, this study indicated that a high percentage of viewers did indeed feel that the networks favored the continuation of COLAs and looked with disapproval on increased spending for defense, a finding that the researchers say "seems to corroborate" and to "lend credence" to the conclusions of imbalance drawn from the content analysis of the coverage itself. Since some respondents, albeit a small number, thought the networks had taken the *opposite* view on the issues, and the majority either thought the networks had presented both sides objectively or could not fathom which particular viewpoint they espoused, some readers may decide that the survey has at least as much to say about the psychology of perception as about the presence of bias in TV news.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Digesting the AIDS story

TO THE REVIEW:

Prudery about AIDS continues, even though information could save lives (CJR, "AIDS and the Family Paper," March/April).

In my October 7, 1985, cover story in *New York* magazine, "The Last Word on Avoiding AIDS," I described the sexual practices that could spread AIDS if one partner was infected, including anal or vaginal intercourse without a condom, fellatio with ejaculation, urinating on the skin, "fisting" — insertion of the hand into the rectum — oral-anal contact, and sharing sexual toys or equipment. *New York's* editors had no qualms about publishing the information and, to the best of my knowledge, the magazine received no complaints — but many compliments for spelling things out.

I was delighted when *Reader's Digest* picked up my article. Now, I thought, millions more readers will get lifesaving information. The *Digest* sent me galleys of their condensation. All the information about dangerous sexual practices had been removed. I requested a change explaining that vaginal or anal intercourse without a condom was dangerous; that would at least tell readers about the most serious risk. Editor Jodie Richardson agreed with me that the information was lifesaving and assured me the change would be made.

It was not. When the *Digest* article appeared in the February 1986 issue, it told readers: "Some other kinds of sexual activity fall into the very risky category, but these might best be discussed with your doctor or other counselors." Sure.

I complained in a letter to *Digest* editor Kenneth O. Gilmore, saying in part, "You could have passed on lifesaving information. You didn't. I'm ashamed of you. I'm ashamed to have my name in your magazine." That was five weeks ago. I have yet to receive a reply.

JANICE HOPKINS TANNE
New York, N.Y.

A new Dukedom

TO THE REVIEW:

Re: "Crash Landing in Phoenix" (CJR, March/April), readers of CJR will be pleased to learn that former *Phoenix Gazette* and Ar-

izona *Republic* publisher Darrow "Duke" Tully has been appointed publisher of the Williston, North Dakota, *Daily Herald*.

The Williston paper has a circulation of about 9,000 copies and is situated in an energy-intensive area (coal mining, crude oil and natural gas extraction) of western North Dakota. In the wintertime, it frequently leads the state in coldest wind-chill temperatures.

Thanks for keeping CJR so much fun to read.

DAVID SOMDAHL
News director,
KCCM-FM
Moorehead, Minn.

"Wimps" is right

TO THE REVIEW:

As a long-time subscriber I would like to thank you for a provocative issue of CJR.

While our other trade journals focus on Ten Best lists and cozy profiles, your March/April issue shows how totally our profession has been snookered by the marketing experts and merchandisers.

From Herschel the sea lion to SOS International to Zoodoo to Tina Resch to velvet giggles to Ramboism, the issue ably illustrates an industry grown cowed and craven. Murrow's warning about television has never been so true, and with the advent of comic-book newspapers it extends to the printed press as well. Journalism is indeed "being used to distract, delude, amuse, and insulate us."

The more we grovel for audience approval, the more we seek "credibility" by offering happy talk and soft features, the more the citizenry despises our transparent efforts to get folksy in the heartland. No wonder libel juries are putting it to us: why wrap the First Amendment around a profession that sacrifices the public interest in its race for ratings?

You're right. So's Leo Bogart. We're a bunch of wimps. Thanks for telling the story.

JOHN A. FARRELL
Staff writer
The Denver Post
Denver, Colo.

The debate over public TV

TO THE REVIEW:

John Wicklein's article "The Assault on Public Television" (CJR, January/February) raises a number of questions related to that

system's independence. His argument suggests that a truly independent system will produce the kind of programming that is non-biased and free from political influences. This may be a specious argument.

A case can be made that both public and commercial broadcasting do a very good job of bashing incumbent presidents and their administrations. This tendency has been very clear in the assault on President Johnson for his handling of the Vietnam War, on President Nixon for his handling of the Watergate crisis, on President Carter for his handling of the energy and inflation difficulties, and on President Reagan in his quest for a smaller government and a return of government to its basic and fundamental role.

A strong case can be made that broadcasting in the U.S., both public and commercial, enjoys a considerable degree of independence. News reporting has become highly opinionated. It seems clear that whatever form public broadcasting may take it will be dominated by the political and/or economic influences of the major sponsors, public or private, and by the moderators, panelists, and program directors who present these programs. This seems to be the current state of affairs in public broadcasting and it is a trend that may be difficult to reverse.

Nonetheless, in examining the usefulness of public television it is necessary to examine the question of whether or not public television provides a service to the listening audience that is not available from the commercial broadcasting services. The answer to this question is not entirely clear. A strong case can be made that the programs provided by public television are also largely offered by commercial broadcasters with very few exceptions — with commercial interruptions causing only minor inconveniences.

If we must have public broadcasting, some mechanism should be introduced by means of which those who express a preference for it should be required to pay for it. Some will say that we cannot impose a fee for public broadcasting because it will hurt the poor. It may be argued, however, that the poor exhibit a greater preference for such television programs as *Sanford and Son* than for *The McNeill/Lehrer NewsHour*, and no amount of coaxing is likely to alter that fact.

Indeed, if there is a real concern about the poor having access to free public broadcast-

ing, then perhaps the poor may be offered "public TV stamps" (similar to food stamps). This would allow poor people the freedom to buy as much public TV as they choose. At the same time, the non-poor would be required to pay the market rate for *The McNeill/Lehrer NewsHour* as well as for the Boston Symphony Orchestra. These programs should not be provided free to the rich.

A market system such as the one described above would end public television subsidies to the rich and would force these users to pay for programs that are preferred, while at the same time allowing access to those among the poor who may also wish to view these programs.

EVERSON. W. HULL
Deputy assistant secretary for policy
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.



Pig-vote squeaker

TO THE REVIEW:

You may be interested to know that the Governmental Studies Program of The Brookings Institution voted five to four that the drawing (above) that accompanied my article "The Sex Test" (CJR, March/April) was done by a man.

STEPHEN HESS
The Brookings Institution
Washington, D.C.

To torch or not to torch

TO THE REVIEW:

Your article "Should Reporters Torch Their Notes?" (CJR, January/February) wholly ignores a catastrophic consequence of journalists destroying their notes: editors and reporters automatically will subject themselves to police searches of their newsrooms and homes.

Since the decision against journalists handed down in 1978 by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Zurcher v. Stanford Daily*, there have been at least ten searches of journalists

and news organizations, while lawyers and health-care providers were the targets of more than forty-five searches. Six of these raids against journalists occurred after Congress passed the Privacy Protection Act of 1980, which was intended to limit the use of search warrants against those engaged in First Amendment activities. One of those warrants was issued in California, the only state that explicitly bars issuing search warrants against journalists.

Why was the warrant issued last year in California for a television station's tapes? Because the judge, police, and prosecutors "feared the tapes might be destroyed [in the time after a subpoena was issued], since news reporters frequently erase old tapes." (*San Jose Mercury News*, May 10, 1985; emphasis added.)

While the *Los Angeles Times* once averted receipt of a prosecutor's subpoena because it had a policy of destroying unpublished negatives and photographs, it will be the rare jurisdiction where police and prosecutors do not view a policy or unofficial practice of destroying notes, outtakes, and unpublished photographs as a direct assault on the criminal investigative processes. Police and prosecutors will respond with the equivalent in the judicial processes of a retaliatory nuclear strike: one or more search warrants.

Editors and reporters also should take heed that if notice of a subpoena does result in any destruction, alteration, or concealment of material, law-enforcement officials then are freed of federal restrictions and may seek search warrants against journalists and news organizations (42 U.S. Code, Section 2000aa(b)(3)). If a prosecutor learns that evidence will be destroyed before he can obtain a subpoena, the journalist will lose his legal protection. Therefore, any policy of destroying any material should never be advertised.

While the picture the *Review* paints of the aftermath of the receipt of a subpoena is not a rosy one, it is a thousand times brighter than that of the aftermath of a search warrant. One may challenge a subpoena at an adversarial hearing; if one loses, one often is able to retain the material in question during an appeal. No sanctions can be applied to those who seek a hearing and review of a subpoena.

But the situation is vastly different with a search warrant. When the police show up, even trying to delay them from executing a warrant is likely to result in felony and contempt-of-court charges. And police with a warrant don't telephone for an appointment.

In the aftermath of the *Stanford Daily* decision, journalists considered destroying notes, burying them, shipping them to friends or out of the country, or trying to hide them

in safe-deposit boxes. But after Congress and many state legislatures passed measures to limit that decision, journalists have grown complacent about the problem of third-party searches. Editors and reporters — including the editors of CJR — have chosen to overlook raids on lawyers' offices in their articles about the criminal justice system, even though, as the late Justice Potter Stewart observed, a search of a lawyer's privileged files is far more destructive than could be any subpoena, no matter how broadly drawn.

Do editors and reporters believe this issue no longer is a "story"? Are journalists afraid to tangle with law enforcement on a matter of real hardball? Or, as medical and legal observers complain, are journalists no longer interested because it is not their oxen that are being gored at the instant? Thoughtful coverage of this issue might keep this pernicious practice in check. In light of the pronouncements of the U.S. Department of Justice about its latest "war on crime," it is doubtful that such searches will be confined to lawyers' offices.

Destroying notes well may help to win libel suits, at least in the short run. It may also discourage civil lawyers from using journalists as unpaid investigators. But if law-enforcement officials even suspect that journalists are destroying their notes, outtakes, or unpublished material, those in the news business will face a veritable blizzard of search warrants.

This is a serious and perhaps solutionless dilemma for journalists. Preserving material so that it can be subpoenaed is not a pleasant prospect. But as the editors of *The Stanford Daily* learned in 1971, nothing compares with the experience of having armed police officers show up at the newsroom door and then start rummaging through almost everything in sight.

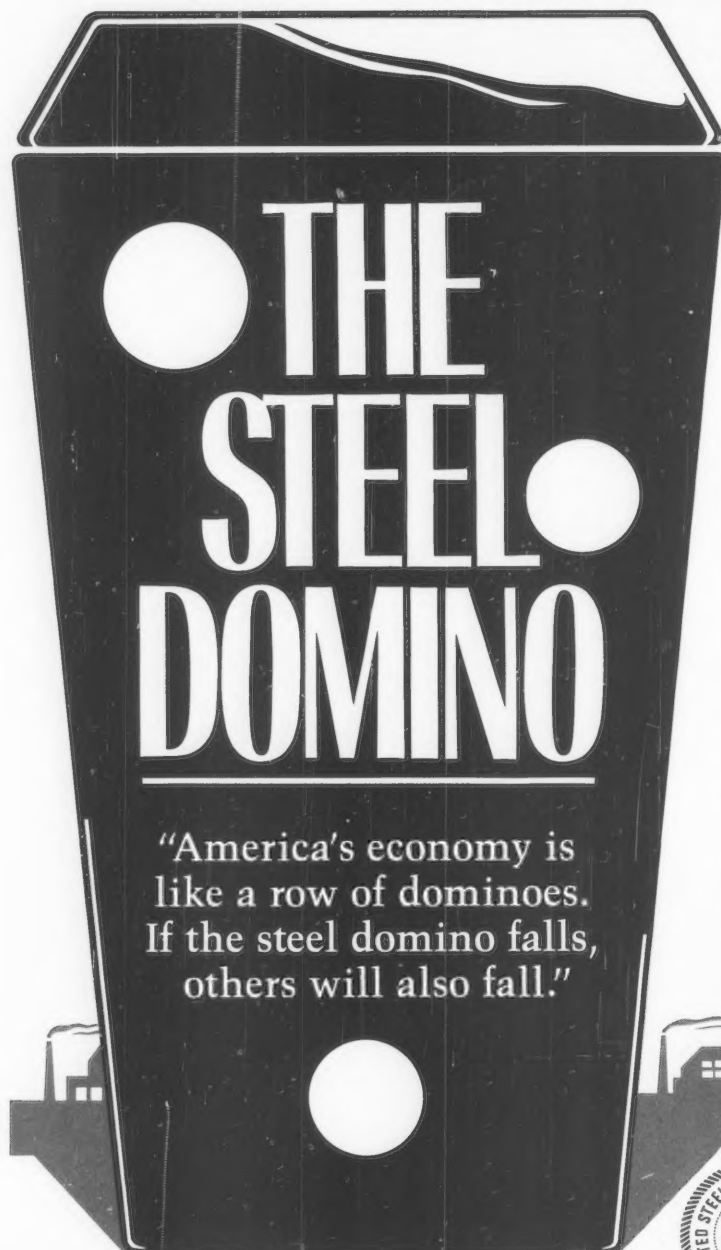
EDWARD H. KOHN
University City, Mo.
DAN FIDUCCIA
San Jose, Calif.

Editors' note: Edward H. Kohn and Dan Fiduccia are former editors of *The Stanford Daily*, and Kohn was a respondent before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Zurcher v. Stanford Daily*. They are preparing the fourth edition of a comprehensive survey of third-party searches.

Tipster controversy

TO THE REVIEW:

A Dart to CJR editors for allowing Elliot C. Rothenberg to write "No Way to Treat a Tipster" (January/February), an article that portrays political consultant Dan Cohen in a



"America's economy is like a row of dominoes. If the steel domino falls, others will also fall."



Walk the streets of any steel town in America where the mills have closed, workers have been laid off or wages slashed.

You'll see what happens to the entire economy when it isn't supported by the steel industry. You'll see storefronts boarded up, going-out-of-business signs, real depression and decay.

You'll see kids on the street who no longer can afford to go to college. They're the future of America, but few can find jobs.

Just ask around. You'll find church offerings are down, cars repossessed, and family homes lost to mortgage foreclosures.

When the steel domino falls, it starts a chain reaction that topples the entire economy of steel towns. Now, other basic industries, in other towns and cities are beginning to follow.

The truth is, America has lost 1.7 million middle income manufacturing jobs since 1980, including 250,000 steelworker jobs.

For all of us, solving the crisis in America's steel and other basic industries is essential for our economic future. Employees have responded to the crisis with realism—72 percent of all operating cost reductions since 1982 have come from lower employment costs.

The steel domino is falling despite the remarkable rise in productivity of the steel industry. It is being drowned by the flood of cheap, subsidized foreign imports.

Solutions require the joint efforts of labor, industry, government and financial institutions.

It's now or never.



UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA AFL-CIO

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Pittsburgh, PA 15222

LYNN WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

favorable light and the two Twin Cities dailies unfavorably.

Far from a disinterested observer, Rothenberg was an unsuccessful candidate for state office on the same ticket which Cohen was trying to aid. He is also the divorced husband of the *Star and Tribune* counsel who has been handling this case from the beginning. The article made no mention of these connections. In fact, since the article appeared, Rothenberg has become counsel for Cohen.

JOEL R. KRAMER
Executive editor
Star and Tribune
Minneapolis, Minn.

The editors reply: We find Mr. Kramer's assertion that our article portrayed Dan Cohen "in a favorable light" puzzling, inasmuch as the piece quoted unflattering references to him by local columnists and was accompanied by a cartoon showing Cohen in the guise of a garbage can. Regarding author Elliot Rothenberg's ex-wife's association with the *Star and Tribune*, even if we had known of this, which we did not, it would not have occurred to us that this disqualified Rothenberg from writing the article or required us to mention that association in our bio box. As regards Rothenberg's political activities, we were not aware of them.

Whether they should have been considered a disqualifying factor or at least spelled out in the bio box we will leave to readers to decide for themselves after comparing Mr. Kramer's depiction of them with Rothenberg's (see below). For our part, we don't see a problem here. Finally, about Rothenberg's becoming counsel for Cohen, as Kramer himself points out, this happened after the article appeared. Moreover, as Kramer cannot be expected to know, before accepting Cohen as a client, Rothenberg called us to ask if we would object to his taking the case. If we did, he said, he would turn Cohen down. We replied that, since the article had already been published, he was free to do whatever he pleased.

Elliot Rothenberg replies: Mr. Kramer's comments are, at best, misleading. The facts are these. In 1982, after serving for several years as a state representative, I was endorsed by the Minnesota State Republican Convention to run for the office of Minnesota attorney general. The same convention endorsed Lou Wangberg, then lieutenant governor, for the office of governor. (The two offices are elected separately in Minnesota.) Wheelock Whitney, who had not sought party endorsement, then ran against and defeated

Wangberg in the September 1982 primary. I also was challenged in the primary but won that contest.

Because of his primary victory, Whitney became the Republican gubernatorial candidate, but only in the most nominal sense. His campaign was run independently of those of the endorsed candidates and he emphasized his distance from the Republican Party organization. Neither Whitney nor Dan Cohen provided any assistance whatever to my campaign. On the contrary, Whitney's candidacy hampered my own efforts by its divisive impact upon the Minnesota Republican Party.

Mr. Kramer's statement that I was "on the same ticket which Cohen was trying to aid" is more than just tortuous syntax. Neither Whitney nor his campaign supporters regarded their efforts as supporting any candidacy other than Whitney's and certainly not a "ticket" of Republican candidates.

Deadline

The editors welcome letters from readers. To be considered for publication in the July/August issue, letters should be received by May 20. Letters are subject to editing for clarity and space.

CLASSIFIED

ASSOCIATIONS

MANY PEOPLE BELIEVE BRUCE CURTIS (serving 20 years in Bordentown, NJ) was unfairly tried and convicted. Information: Box 1396 Middleton, Nova Scotia, Canada BOS IPO.

BOOKS/PUBLICATIONS

FORD, REAGAN NECK IN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY — 27 Dental Hygiene Students to Receive Caps at MCC — Caribbean Islands Drift to Left — Stud Tires Out. Treat yourself, or a friend, to *Squad Helps Dog Bite Victim*: a collection of flubs from the nation's press culled from 19 years of "The Lower case." \$7.50 per copy includes postage and handling. Send order with payment to: SHDBV, Columbia Journalism Review, 700A Journalism Bldg., Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

RESEARCH ANALYST POSITION AVAILABLE IMMEDIATELY in the Research Department of Service Employees International Union, Washington, DC. Position is responsible for research support for SEIU's private sector membership, with emphasis on labor relations, contract analysis, and corporate financial analysis. BA or equivalent in economics or a related field is required, as well as labor or community action research experience and excellent writing skills. Union or community organizing experience preferred. Starting salary in the mid 20's. Applicants should send a resume and analytic writing sample to: Linda Gallick, Personnel Director, Service Employees International Union, 1313 L Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005. EOE/MFVH.

NEWS/PA DIRECTOR to coordinate community-based news gathering with volunteer staff at listener-supported station. \$13,800+. Send resume and references by June 6, to General Manager, Fresh Air Inc., 1518 East Lake Street, Minneapolis, MN 55407. AA/EEOE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE — THE DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION is recruiting to fill two positions in Fall, 1986, the beginning of an unprecedented three-year expansion of media education at UWM with special funds appropriated by the State Legislature. The Department's plan is to add new faculty and state-of-the-art equipment to markedly improve undergraduate coursework in print and broadcast journalism, radio-TV-film, public relations, media research, and graduate courses leading to a Communication MA. Two openings for Fall, 1986: 1) Ph.D., to serve as tenured associate or full professor, with scholarly publication in the fields of radio-TV-film, telecommunications, economics, the new technologies of cable-satellite communication, and/or mass media cultural criticism. Instruction at the graduate level as well as undergraduate courses. 2) Ph.D. in journalism or mass communication as tenure-track assistant professor, with scholarly and skills-oriented specialties such as journalism ethics, law of the press, journalism history, with background in news reporting, editing, editorial writing or interpretive reporting. Graduate teaching experience highly desirable. The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee is one of The University of Wisconsin System's two doctoral institutions and is situated in the state's major metropolitan area and media center. UWM expects demonstrably strong research and publication together with excellent university

teaching and service. Faculty hired for 1986-87 will participate in recruitment for additional faculty through 1988-89 and in widely expanded facilities. Send letter of application, resume, transcripts, and three letters of recommendation to: Dr. Ruane B. Hill, Department of Mass Communication, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201. Application deadline is May 15, 1986. UWM is an Equal Opportunity Affirmative Action Employer; applications from minority groups and women are encouraged.

PUBLISHING

LOOKING FOR A PUBLISHER? Learn how you can have your book published, promoted, distributed. Send for free booklet: HP-3, Vantage Press, 516 West 34th Street, New York, NY 10001.

SERVICES

HELLO MR. CLIPS! Quick, customized clip research on 25,000-plus newsworthy personalities of the past. You name it, chances are we've got it. Details: Clipping Desk, P.O. Box 18624, Washington, DC 20036-8624.

ORIENTAL WOMEN SEEK CORRESPONDENCE for cultural exchange, language practice, friendship. Asian Exchange, Box 1021CJR, Honolulu, HI 96727.

To be in our July/Aug 1986 issue — for only \$1.50 per word — just send us your name, address, and phone number, with typed copy and check, by May 30th to: CJR Classifieds, 700A Journalism, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027. All ads must be prepaid.

Medical Research— building a healthier future

If you've ever been treated for high blood pressure... heart disease... diabetes... or almost any health problem, medical progress based on research has already touched your life.

Because of medical research, polio no longer strikes in epidemic proportions every summer. Today about three-quarters of patients diagnosed as having Hodgkin's disease will survive five years or longer—as opposed to less than half twenty years ago. Current treatment options for people with heart disease and high blood pressure include medication that helps the body's natural regulators to control blood pressure and volume, enabling the heart to function with less strain.

Scientists are now working on new ways of treating such devastating afflictions as heart disease, cancer and Alzheimer's disease. They are testing new enzyme inhibitors that may control or reverse the late complications of diabetes. Forthcoming breakthroughs in understanding biological processes and treating disease may change the quality and perhaps the length of your life.

Medical research leading to such results takes years of patient, often frustrating experimentation by many different teams throughout the public and private sectors of our scientific community. The tasks involved are not simple.

Advances in research stem from a partnership that includes federal agencies such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH), universities and teaching hospitals across America, and private industry laboratories. Each partner often works independently to acquire knowledge and test new concepts. They must build on the knowledge developed in all laboratories, and they often coordinate efforts in their search for answers.

Whether an idea originates in a university laboratory or starts with basic product research carried on in the private sector, important findings percolate through the entire scientific community, where each new finding serves as a building block to establish a deeper under-

standing of what we are and how we function.

Medical research is an expensive process. It needs steady funding for equipment and personnel—even when progress is slow. Government and industry often work with university-based scientists and the medical profession not only in the acquisition of new knowledge and the development of new treatments, but also in funding these advances.

Now more than ever, we all must do our part to help keep the flow of discoveries active and ongoing. If funding for medical research is reduced, major advances in knowledge about some of the most dreaded diseases facing us today could be delayed for years to come.

What can you do?

- *Speak up.* Let your legislators know that you want funding of biomedical research by NIH and other government agencies to be kept at the highest possible levels.
- *Contribute* to voluntary health organizations supporting disease research.

Research-based pharmaceutical companies such as Pfizer are also increasing their financial investment in research. For instance, in 1984 alone, pharmaceutical companies in the United States spent over 4 billion dollars on research and product development.

At the same time, we at Pfizer realize the importance of committing more than money to research. As a partner in healthcare, we are continually working to discover new ideas, test new concepts, and turn new understanding to practical and beneficial uses. Now we are working harder than ever to make sure that this nation's medical research effort receives the attention—and funding—it deserves.

For more information on the future of medical research in America, write to Health Research U.S.A., P.O. Box 3852 PR, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.



PHARMACEUTICALS • A PARTNER IN HEALTHCARE

The Lower case

Put your specimen where your mouth is

Tundra Drums (Bethel, Alaska) 3/27/86

Reagan: a peril too close to home

The Record (Hackensack, N.J.) 3/17/86

Fire Suspected as Arson Guts Three Haddam Structures

The Middletown (Conn.) Press 3/13/86

Fuqua school giving up

Cash contributions and pledges to Duke University's Fuqua School of Business Annual Fund increased 120 per cent last year from 1984.

The Durham (N.C.) Sun 2/6/86

Cop picks open can of worms

By DEBRA JUDGE SILBER
Sunday Post staff writer

ANSONIA — For the second time in as many months, questions have arisen over the recent appointment of police officers, appointments that some say could place the city on shaky legal ground.

The Sunday Post (Bridgeport, Conn.) 3/2/86

Now that actress Debra Winger and actor Timothy Hutton are married, Nebraska Gov. Bob Kerrey will forever hold his piece.

Lexington (Ky.) Herald-Leader 3/19/86

Dartmouth Names Computer Vice Provost

Valley News (White River Jct., Vt.) 3/10/86

Beg Your Parden

The Daily Progress (Charlottesville, Va.) 3/20/86

3 U.S. firms bomb targets in Spain

Chicago Sun-Times 1/6/86

Silver Objects Often Taken — Police Units Seek Pattern

The New York Times 2/16/86

Safe driver hits 1 million

The Sentinel-Echo (London, Ky.) 8/8/85

Disappearance of 4 workers baffles police

St. Petersburg Times 4/6/86



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De Beers



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Every quality diamond of a carat or more is one of nature's rarest and most exquisite phenomena—with more fire, more sparkle and scintillation.

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A diamond is forever.



The ring shown features
a quality diamond of 2 carats.

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A FIRE RARELY SEEN.

